SUSHIL KUMAR DE
FELICITATION VOLUME

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Edited by

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Deccan College

POONA

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Sushil Kumar De

We present this volume to Dr. Sushil Kumar De in grateful recognition of his services to the cause of Indology. It is not often that we come across persons whose life is full of useful activities and whose work is an example and inspiration to the people who live with them. Dr. De's contribution to Indology is valuable and posterity will find in his work much that will illuminate their path through the labyrinth of our forgotten past.

Dr. De's work is both voluminous and great. It is a testimony to his industry, patience and devotion, for intelligence alone cannot go a long way without these accompaniments.

That is why in a spirit of admiration for his great achievements this humble token of affection and gratitude is offered to him as he finishes seventy years of his life, still active and untired.

May he be spared many more years so that the cause which he has so fruitfully served may prosper still more bringing more light into the obscure corners of India's past!

CURRICULUM VITAE

OF

Professor SUSHIL KUMAR DE

Born January 29, Wednesday, 1890, at Calcutta.

I. *Academic Career*

B.A. Honours (1909), Class I in English (with Sanskrit and Philosophy as subsidiary subjects), Presidency College, Calcutta. University Post-Graduate scholarship.

M.A. (1911) in English, Class I, Presidency College, Calcutta. University Silver Medal and Prize.

B.L. (1912), Class I, University Law College, Master of Law scholarship.

D.Lit. (1921), University of London, for a thesis on Sanskrit Poetics.

From 1912 onwards worked in various capacities as Professor of English, Professor of Sanskrit and Professor of Bengali in the Universities of Dacca, Calcutta and Jadavpur.

Elected General President of the All-India Oriental Conference for the Bombay session held in November 1949.

Invited by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1934 and 1948 to collaborate in the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata.

Elected President of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1950, 1956.

Member and later Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Sanskrit Dictionary scheme of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, nominated by Government of India, November 1955.

Member of the Sanskrit Advisory Committee of the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1955.

Sarat Chandra Chatterji Memorial Lecturer, Calcutta University 1950. Member, Sanskrit Commission appointed by Government of India 1956-57.

Worked as member on various Government Committees and collaborated in various research activities and projects all over the country.

II. *Honorary Distinctions*

Vidyāratna, *honoris causa*, Sārasvat Samāj, Dacca, 1943.

Sarojini Gold Medal awarded by Calcutta University, 1948, for researches in Bengali literature.

Elected Vice-President, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, since 1948.

Hon. President of the same 1950, 1956.

Vidyā-sindhu, *honoris causa*, Vibudha-jananī-sabhā, Navadvipa, 1950.

Honorary Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1954. Fellow, Calcutta University, 1956-60.

III. *Works and articles on Sanskrit*

(i) Works

1. Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics. In two volumes—Vol. I (Chronology and Sources), pp. xx, 376; Vol. II (Systems and Theories), pp. iii. 431, Luzac, London. 1923, 1925. Calcutta 2nd Ed., 1960.

2. Editio Princeps of the Vakrokti-jīvita, a rare Treatise on Sanskrit Poetics, by Rajanaka Kuntaka (prepared from unpublished Mss. with introduction, critical notes and résumé), Calcutta Oriental Series, 1923, pp. xlvii, 120. Second revised and enlarged edition, 1928 (pp. lxviii, 270).

3. Editio Princeps of the Text of Kāvyāloka-locana IV (prepared from unpublished Mss., with introduction and variant readings) published in *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. ix, 1922 (pp. 15-30). Separately reprinted.

4. Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature, Prabasi Press, Calcutta 1929, pp. 1-87.

The following works (Nos. 5-7) published in the Dacca University Oriental Text Publication Series :

5. Editio Princeps from original Mss., with introduction, notes, etc., of Kīcaka-vadha by Nītivarman, a rare Yamaka and Śleṣa Kāvya, written in the eastern provinces before the 11th century, with the commentaries of Janārdana-sena and Sarvānanda-nāga, Dacca 1929, pp. xxviii, 128, with five plates.

6. A Critical Edition, from 16 original Mss., of Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī, an anthology of Vaiṣṇava Sanskrit poems, to which is prefixed an historical and critical introduction on the Caitanya Movement and Literature, notes on authors, and exhaustive Indices. Dacca 1934, pp. cxlv, 296.

7. A Critical Edition, from 12 original Mss., of the Bengal recension of the Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta, ascribed to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala with three Bengal commentaries, viz., Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (unpublished), Subodhinī of Caitanya-dāsa (unpublished) and Sāraṅgaraṅgadā of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, with Appendices containing additional verses from the South Indian recension and from other Bilvamaṅgala Kāvyas, with introduction, critical notes, indices, etc. Dacca 1938, pp. lxxxvii, 384.

8. A Critical Edition of the Udyoga-parvan of the Mahābhārata based on 48 Mss., published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1940, pp. liv, 739 (quarto).

9. Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal from Sanskrit and Bengali Sources. Calcutta 1942, pp. 1-535. (It gives a full documented account of the early history of the movement, its theology and philosophy, its Rasa-śāstra, its ritualism and devotional practices, and its literary achievement in Sanskrit and Bengali.)

10. Editio Princeps of the Jñāna-dīpikā of Devabodha, the oldest known commentary on the Udyoga-parvan of the Mahābhārata. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1944, pp. xvi, 74.

11. History of Sanskrit Literature (Poetry, Prose and Drama). Calcutta University, 1947, pp. 1-511. (A fresh approach is made strictly from the literary point of view and from a direct reading of the literature itself.)

12. A critical edition of the Droṇa-parvan of the Mahābhārata, to be published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1958.

13. A Critical Edition of the Meghadūta published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi 1957.

14. An Anthology of the Epics and Purāṇas for the same Akademi jointly with Dr. R. C. Hazra, 1959.

15. Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics. Calcutta 1959.

16. Aspects of Sanskrit Literature. Calcutta 1959.

17. Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature. Calcutta 1959.

(ii) Articles

More than one hundred articles contributed to various recognised Indian and European Oriental journals, of which the following more notable may be mentioned.

1. In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London* :

   The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana (i, 1920, pp. 1-9).

   The Kathā and Ākhyāyikā in Classical Sanskrit (iii, 1924, pp. 507-17).

   Some Readings of Jānakī-haraṇa, xvi (iv, 1927, pp. 611-13).

   Notes on some Alaṁkāra Mss. in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library (iv, 1926, pp. 279-83).

   Sarvānanda and Vallabhadeva (v, 1929, pp. 499-503).

   Bhāgavatism and Sun-worship (vi, 1931, pp. 669-72).

2. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London* :

   Deveśvara (1922, pp. 577-79).

   The Agni-purāṇa and Bhoja (1923, pp. 537-49).

   A Note on the Sanskrit Monologue Play (1926, pp. 63-90).

Āśiḥ-prelude in the Mahākāvya (1927, pp. 109-110).

The Date of Subhāṣitāvali (1927, 471-77) and Vallabhadeva and his Subhāṣitāvali (1928, pp. 403-4).

A Note on Pañcakāla in connexion with Pañcarātra (1931, pp. 415-18).

A Passage from the Udyoga-parvan (1940, pp. 69-72 and 1941, pp. 149-52).

3. In the *Indian Antiquary* :

On the Text of the Mahāvīra-carita (lix, 1930, pp. 13-18).

4. In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* :

Mālā tu pūrvavat (vi, 1925, pp. 418-24).

A Note on the Text of Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta (xvi, 1935, pp. 173-88).

5. In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* :

Bhāravi and Daṇḍin (i, 1925, pp. 31-36).

A note on the Avantisundarī-kathā in relation to Bhāravi and Daṇḍin (iii, 1927, pp. 161-69).

The Rasārṇavālaṁkāra of Prakāśavarṣa (v, 1929, pp. 770-80).

The Problem of the Mahānāṭaka (vii, 1931, pp. 537-626).

Caitanya as an Author (x, 1934, pp. 301-20).

The Vedic and Epic Kṛṣṇa (xviii, 1942, pp. 297-301).

The Viṣṇu-stuti and Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta (xx, 1944, pp. 179-81).

6. In the *Indian Culture* :

Some Bengal Vaiṣṇava Works in Sanskrit (i, pp. 21-30).

Caitanya-worship as a cult (1934, pp. 173-89).

Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (1935-36, a series of five articles).

Some Vaidyaka Writers of Bengal (iv, 1937, pp. 273-76).

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (v, 1938, pp. 57-71).

On the date of Viṣṇupurī (v, 1938, pp. 197-99).

Some Aspects of the Bhagavadgītā (ix, 1942, pp. 21-35).

7 In the *New Indian Antiquary* :

The Buddhist Tantric Literature of Bengal (i, 1938, pp. 1-23).

Sanskrit Literature under the Pāla Kings of Bengal (Denison Ross Festschrift Number, 1940, pp. 79-98).

Sanskrit Literature under the Sena Kings of Bengal (F. W. Thomas Festschrift Number, 1939, pp. 50-70).

Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics (ix, 1947, pp. 64-93).

Sanskrit Hymnology and Stotra-literature (ix, 1947, pp. 129-61).

8. In the *Dacca University Studies* :

Sanskrit Poetics as a Study of Aesthetics (vol. i, pp. 1-46).

9. *In the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* :

Some Lexicographical Notes on the Udyoga-parvan (viii, 1947, pp. 1-33).

10. Also contributed to the *Oriental Literary Digest* (reviews) ; *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, the Poona Orientalist, Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, the Bhāratīya Vidyā. the Modern Review* (reviews), *Hindusthan Review*, etc.

11 Contributed, by invitation, to the following Commemoration Volumes : Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Comm. Volume (iii, Orientalia, 1922, pp. 207-53) ; Festschrift M. Winternitz (Leipzig, 1933, pp. 195-207) ; Haraprasād Saṁvardhana-lekhamālā (1933, pp. 121-27) ; Pathak Comm. Volume (1936, pp. 26-37); Woolner Memorial Volume (1940, pp. 65-67); Ganganath Jha Comm. Volume (1937, pp. 139-44) ; D. R. Bhandarkar Comm. Volume (1940, pp. 73-75); Festschrift P. V. Kane (1941, pp. 112-44) ; B. C. Law Comm. Volume (ii, pp. 50-57) ; Munshi Diamond Jubilee Comm. Volume (Pt. i, pp. 125-31); Siddha-Bhāratī or Siddheshwar Verma Presentation Volume (1950, pt. i, pp. 233-35) ; Hiriyanna Comm. Volume, Mysore 1952, pp. 12-14; Gode Felicitation Volume, 1956, etc.

12. Contributed, by injvitation, an article on Sanskrit Drama to the *Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. III, pp. 652-69. Also contributed four articles to the second revised edition now in preparation.

13. Contributed a chapter on Sanskrit Literature to the *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, published by Dacca University, 1943, pp. 290-363. (Reprinted in Indian Studies, Vol. I, No. 4, 1960).

14. Contributed, by invitation, a chapter on the Philosophy of the Indian Epics to the volume projected by the Government of India on 'Philosophies: Eastern and Western' (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953), Vol. I, pp. 85-106.

15. Contributed a chapter on Great Women in Vedic Literature in *Great Women of India* (R. K. Mission, 1953), pp. 129-39.

16. Contributed extensive articles to *Our Heritages* (Bulletin of the Research Department, Sanskrit College, Calcutta) as follows:

    (i) Sects and Sectarian Worship in the Mahābhārata.

    (ii) The Problem of Bharata and Ādi-Bharata.

    (iii) The Text of the Amaruśataka.

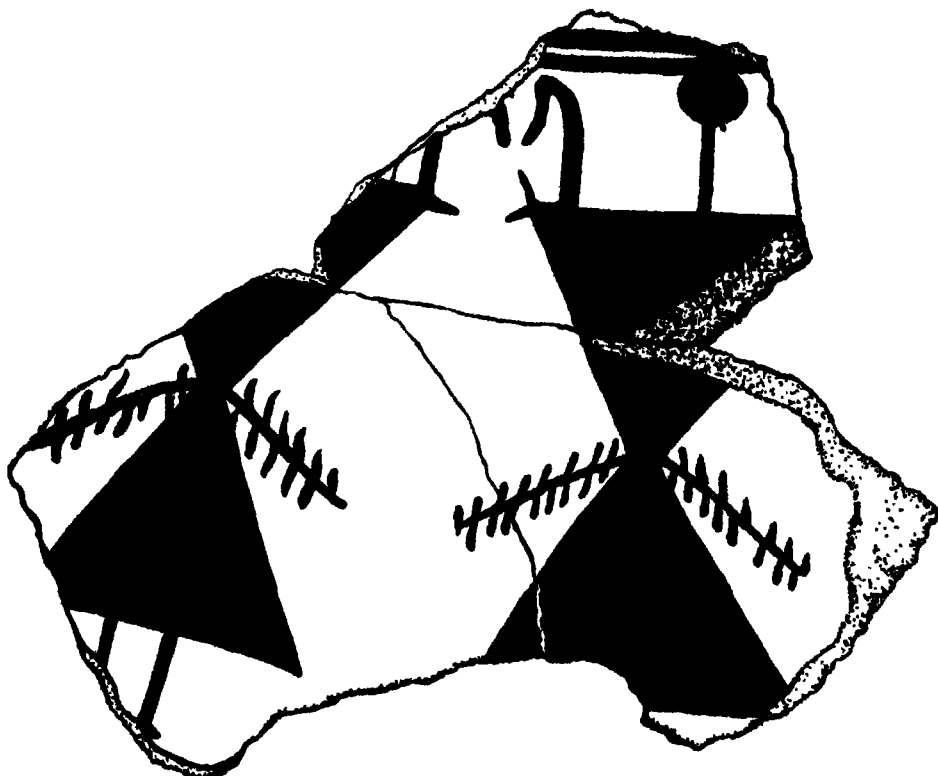
    (iv) Amaruśataka, with the Unpublished Commentary of Rudramadeva-kumāra.

    (v) Some Commentators on the Meghadūta.

    (vi) Wit, Humour and Satire in Ancient Indian Literature.

A DANCING FIGURE ON THE CHALCOLITHIC POTTERY FROM NAGDA

By

N. R. Banerjee

The purpose of the present note is to bring to notice a new pattern of painted dancing figures which have been found on the painted pottery from the chalcolithic levels of Nagda, excavated in January - April, 1956, by the Excavations Branch of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India. One sherd (see illustration) shows two schematic dancing figures produced by the placing of two solid triangles axially by their appexes, producing thereby the torso. The legs, hands, and neck are executed with simple lines, and the head is represented by a solid circle mounted on the neck. The figures are apparently gyrating and touching each other's up-

raised hands. The rather slow motion of the figures is perhaps indicated by the short or acute angle of the flowing and elaborate waist-bands. An almost similar form, without the waist-bands and with hands joined more realistically at the waist-level, has been reported from Togau in Baluchistan[1]; and it may be that we have here a hitherto unsuspected link between Central India and the north-western high lands. It is to be hoped that Miss de CARDI's forthcoming expedition (her second) to Baluchistan will discover further links with the Peninsula.

1. SANKALIA in *Antiquity, op. cit.*, p. 30, fig. 2, 3a; Beatrice de CARDI, "Recent explorations on the borders of Pakistan". *Arts and Letters*, Vol. XXIV, No. 11 (1950), fig. 8, Pl. I facing p. 56.

PATRA-KAUMUDĪ OF VARARUCI*

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI, D. PHIL., *Darjeeling Govt. College*

The *Patra-kaumudī*, attributed to Vararuci, is a short work dealing with the art of letter-writing. In an introductory verse of one of the manuscripts, the author is said to have composed the work at the direction of the famous (*kīrti-sindhu*) King Vikramāditya. Unfortunately, however, the title 'Vikramāditya' was assumed by many a king of India[1], so that nothing definite can be said about the date of the author on this evidence alone. Moreover, at least six Vararucis[2] are known hitherto. Therefore, we have no other alternative but to make the candid confession that, in the existing state of our knowledge, we can neither identify the author nor settle his date. It should, however, be noted that the colophon of one of the MSS. (*Des. Cat. of MSS. in Mithilā*, No. 71, p. 75) describes the author as *Vikramāditya-ratna*. From a verse[3] it appears that Prākṛta was still in use when the author composed his work. We find the following remark in the introduction to the *Descriptive Cat. of MSS. in Mithilā* :—

> "The book was certainly composed before the introduction of paper, as the writing material contemplated is leaf only."

This conclusion is obviously based on the use of the word '*patra*' in the work. But, this cannot be a piece of conclusive evidence on the point; because, the word may mean paper as well. The author of the *Patra-kaumudī* may be supposed to have referred to country-made paper, if he be not considered to have been a very old writer.

Whatever the date of its composition might have been, the work deserves our attention because, in the first place, it testifies to the fact that letter-writing was cultivated as an art in India, and, secondly, it will stimulate interest in Indian Epistolography which has, till now, been a neglected subject.

* For a study of the Epistolary Literature in Sanskrit, see S. C. BANERJI in I. H. Q., Sept. & Dec., 1958.

1. For the Vikramāditya legend, see S. K. DE and S. N. DAS GUPTA; *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, pp. 4-5, f. n. 1.
2. See *Hist. of Skt. Lit.* by KEITH and DE and DAS GUPTA.
3. Cf. *bhāṣayā saṁskṛtenaiva kuśalaṁ vilikhet sudhīḥ /*
   tataḥ śubhāśubhāṁ vārtāṁ saṁskṛtaiḥ prākṛtaistathā //—V. 23.

It is proposed, in the following pages, to give a résumé of the contents of this interesting work on the basis of the text constituted by us.

After salutation to gods and goddesses, the author, stated to have composed the work at the instance of the said Vikramāditya, sets forth the object of the work, viz., to lay down the rules regarding the marking of letters, etc., addressed to the king, minister, learned man, preceptor, husband, wife, father, son, recluse, servant, enemy and others. The topics dealt with are the dyeing of letters, their size, mode of folding, qualifications of the scribe, manner of composing, carrying, and reading the letters their marking, the arrangement of words, the cutting of the ends of letters, eulogistic words, writing of the word '*śrī*', etc. The modest scope of the work is to lay down rules about the said topics in a nutshell (*samāsena*); this hints at the existence of elaborate procedure calling for a compendium on epistolary art.

The letter is to be dyed with hues like golden, silvery, etc. The best letter will be one cubit and six fingers long, the medium, one cubit, and the ordinary letter as long as the clenched hand.

The piece of paper, used as a letter, will have three foldings. The upper two folds are to be left out, and the message is to be written on the last part.

The royal scribe must possess the following qualifications:—

(1) Experienced in counsel,

(2) Versed in politics and science of morality,

(3) Conversant with various scripts and languages,

(4) Meritorious,

(5) Having knowledge of peace, war and royal duties,

(6) Always a well-wisher of the king,

(7) Truthful, self-restrained, discriminating and straightforward.

The king, having summoned the scribe, will ask him to write a letter. The scribe, in consultation with a learned man, will prepare the draft which will be read out confidentially before the king. After the king's approval, the scribe will prepare the letter in its final form.

In a letter, first of all, an *aṅkuśa*[4] mark, with '7' below and a point inside, should be put as an auspicious sign. This will be followed by the

4. 'A hook, esp. an elephant hook' (M. WILLIAMS).

word '*svasti*'[5]. Next will be written '*śrī*'[6] to precede the mode of address appropriate to the person written to. In the next place, one should write about welfare (*kuśala*) in Sanskrit. Then information about good things and bad should be written in Sanskrit or Prākrit. This will be followed by the main body of the letter, in accordance with the size of the paper. In the space below will be written a verse proclaiming the fame (of the person written to ?) and causing delight; next is to be written an expression like '*kimadhikam*' (i.e., no more, what more, etc.). In conclusion, a verse, dealing with the despatch of the letter and containing the date, month, etc., is to be written.[7]

The knowledge of the correct forms of letters has been highly praised, and the royal scribe is said to attain fame by writing royal despatches in conformity with the rules laid down in the *śāstra*; non-observance of these rules subjects him to great calumny.

The modes of carrying letters have been rigidly fixed. On the head should be carried a royal despatch, a letter from the preceptor, a Brāhmaṇa, a recluse and the husband. Forehead is the proper place for ministerial communications and the centre of the chest for that from the wife, son and friend. A letter from a foe should be carried in the throat.

The royal scribe, having saluted the letter, should place it before the king in council with its tip turned towards the east. Having opened it, he should read it silently twice over and then read it aloud. A verse, in this connection, provides for the confidential reading of such letters to the king before reading them out in the council. A letter, containing evil news, must not be read out in the council.[8]

From the top of the paper, a space, measuring six fingers, should be left out. Then, a circular mark of *kastūrī*[9] and *kuṅkuma*[10] like the moon's orb, should be put on a royal despatch. The mark should be of saffron alone for ministers, sandal for learned men, preceptors, fathers, sons and

5. Meaning 'fortunate', 'success', 'prosperity'.

6. This word, meaning 'fortune', 'beauty' etc., has been prefixed to the Indian name through ages, and has received official recognition in the post-independence period.

7. Are we to suppose that this contained the name of the writer too? We are to infer this, because there seems to be no other provision for this essential item.

8. It is not clear as to whether these rules apply to incoming letters or outgoing ones or to both.

9. Musk.

10. Saffron.

anchorites, vermilion for husbands, lac - dye for wives, red sandal - paste for servants and blood for enemies.

A letter to the king should commence with words like '*mahārājādhirāja*'[11], '*dāna - śauṇḍa*'[12], '*saccarita*', etc. One to the minister should commence with a statement of his qualities. One should commence a letter to a learned man by stating the number of times of the writer's saluting him and by referring to his expert knowledge of *śāstras*. A letter to the preceptor should begin with a reference to his learning and to the eight - limbed obeisance (*sāṣṭāṅga - praṇipāta*) by the writer. That to a husband is to commence with words indicative of his great qualities, salutation and words like *prāṇa - priya* (dear to heart). One to the wife should begin with words like *prāṇa - priyā, sādhvī* (chaste) and *saccaritā* (having good character). A letter to the father is to begin with the word *prabhu* (master), salutation and words like *saccarita*, and that to a recluse with the words *sarva - vāñchā - vinirmukta* (free from all desires) and *sarva - śāstrārtha - pāraga* (versed in all *śāstras*). In letters to persons in general, having at first written the name of the person written to, one should write words befitting him.[13]

As regards the number of the word *śrī*, it varies with the kind of the addressee. To a preceptor, there should be six *śrīs*, to a husband five, to a servant two, to a foe four, to a friend three and one each to son and wife.

Here the metrical portion of the work ends. The remaining part, written in prose, deals with the different modes of *praśasti* (praise) to be used in the letters to different persons. The *praśastis* are too lengthy to be reproduced here. Hence, we shall simply indicate the principal features of each. The *praśasti* for a king should contain extravagant references to his suzerainty, prowess, generosity, learning, etc. The eulogy of a minister stresses his efficiency, and that of a preceptor lavishly speaks of his devotion to gods, proficiency in various branches of learning, observance of rites and customs appropriate to his stage of life, etc. The *praśasti* of a husband should emphasise his great and exemplary love, and that of a wife her deep attachment and exquisite beauty. In eulogising the father, the son should set forth his deep regard and submissiveness. To a son the father should mention the former's learning, good qualities and his being an ornament to the family. To a recluse one should write lavishly about the former's detachment from worldly objects, great learning and possession of many disciples. The praise of a servant consists in stressing his

11. Paramount king.

12. Expert in making gifts.

13. A comparison of these titles of address with those recorded in "Titles of Address etc." by Sister DINNEEN, Washington, 1929, may be interesting.

devotion to gods, the protection of cattle and serviceability. To praise an enemy, one should speak of his heroism. To a wise man one should write about his great merits accrued from worship of gods, generosity, etc.

From the foregoing survey of the contents of the work, it appears that, in the society reflected in it, letter - writing was recognised as an art necessitating the laying down of cut and dry rules. Great stress seems to have been laid on the modes of addressing different persons, the folding of the paper, the carrying, opening and reading of it, etc. so much so that one had carefully to learn the art. One, however, feels inclined to suppose that, at the time of the author, letter - writing assumed a stereotyped form, and allowed little individual liberty. It is, however, interesting to note that, even to - day, the Indian way of writing letters, as unaffected by Western influence, is substantially the same as we find in the *Patra-kaumudī*. If, in this work, royal despatches have received greater attention than the letters of persons in general, it is only natural because the author, at the outset, clearly sets forth that he is composing it at the instance of King Vikramāditya.

Sincere thanks of the editor are due to the authories of India Office Library, London, and of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, for kindly sending him, immediately on his request, photostat copies of the respective MSS. of the *Patra - kaumudī* in their possession.

The form of a letter, according to the *Patra-kaumudī*, will be something like what is shown below.

स्वस्तिश्री .... (1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

(1) The name of the person written to preceded by titles of address befitting him.

(2) *kuśala*.

(3) *śubhāśubhā vārtā*.

(4) Main body of the letter.

(5) A verse proclaiming fame and causing delight.

(6) Expressions like *kimadhikam*.

(7) Concluding verse containing details about the date of the letter as well as its despatch.

The above form is described in verses 21-25.

For the form of a royal despatch, see verses 38-42.

DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

A — Transcript of a fragmentary MS. in Bengali characters found by the editor in the midst of some manuscripts lumped together at the then Government College, Rajshahi, Bengal (now in East Pakistan) about the year 1945. Though illegible at places, the MS. is fairly correct. It begins thus — श्रीमतकृष्णपदारविन्दयुगलम्. Incomplete at the end.

B — Photostat copy of MS. No. 7203 (3329) of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in India Office*, Vol. II, pt. II, by A. B. Keith.

Characters — Devānagarī.
Beginning — शब्दकल्पद्रुमे अथ पत्रलिपिः । तस्य लक्षणं यथा—सुवर्णकस्य रक्ताद्यैः etc
End ...प्रत्यर्थिसार्थगर्वाकूपारपारेषु ।
Colophon — इति श्रीमद्वररुचिकृता पत्रकौमुदी समाप्ता ॥
Post - colophon statement — संवत् १९२४ श्रावणशुदि १० दशम्यां गोविन्दरामो लेखकालिखत् (?) गोस्वामिदेवदत्तप्रसादासय (?)
Date — Saṁvat 1924 (= 1867 A.D.)

C — Photostat copy of MS. No. 65 of Sanskrit College, Calcutta. (Vide *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*, Vol. VI, p. 39).
Characters — Bengali.
Beginning — Same as in A.
End — पुण्यरंपरापवित्रीकृतधरणीतलश्रीलश्रीम हा (Last three letters not clearly legible). Seems to be incomplete.
Colophon — Not given.

[Besides the above, the following MSS. are noticed in the Catalogues, but could not be procured for the present edition:—

(1) No. 216, p. 214, of Vol. I of *Notices of Skt. MSS.* (2nd series) by H. P. Sastri.

(2) No. 347, p. 197, of *Notices of Skt. MSS.*, Vol. I, by R. L. Mitra.

(3) No. 71, p. 75, of *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Mithilā* by K. Jayaswal, dated Śaka 1710.

(4) No. 72, p. 76, of Do.

(5) No. 72A, p. 77, of Do.

(6) No. 72B, p. 77, of Do. (Dated *San* 1301 *Sāl*).

(7) No. 72C, p. 77, of Do.

(8) No. 66 of the collections at Nārāyaṇī Handiqui Research Institute, Gauhati, Assam. (Vide *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIX, p. 207).

पत्रकौमुदी

[श्रीमद्वररुचिकृता]

* श्रीमत्कृष्णपदारविन्दयुगलं ब्रह्मेश्वराद्यमर-
श्रेणीनम्रकिरीटकोटिविडभिपुष्पार्चितं सन्ततम् ।
वाणीं च प्रणमामि विश्वजननीं प्रत्यूहविध्वंसिनीं
भक्तानुग्रहविग्रहां भगवतीं नित्यं वचोवृद्धये ॥ १ ॥

विक्रमादित्यभूपस्य कीर्तिसिन्धोर्निदेशतः । 5
श्रीमद्वररुचिर्धीमांस्तनोति पत्रकौमुदीम् ॥ २ ॥

राज्ञां मन्त्रिप्रवीराणां पण्डितानां तथैव च ।
गुरूणां स्वामिभार्याणां तथैव पितृपुत्रयोः ॥ ३ ॥

संन्यासिभृत्यशत्रूणां तथैवान्यविवेकिनाम् ।
एतेषामपि सर्वेषां पत्रचिह्नादिकं ब्रुवे ॥ ४ ॥ 10

अथानुक्रमणिका—

पत्राणां रञ्जनं चैव पत्रप्रमाणभङ्गकम् ।
पत्रलेखकचिह्नानि पत्रस्य रचनाक्रमः ॥ ५ ॥

पत्रलेखप्रकारश्च पत्रस्य नयनक्रमः ।
पत्रस्य पठनं चैव पत्रचिह्नं ततः परम् ॥ ६ ॥ 15

पदन्यासप्रकारश्च पत्रकोणस्य कर्तनम् ।
प्रशस्तिपदविन्यासः श्रीशब्दस्य पदक्रमः ॥ ७ ॥

उत्थाप्याकाङ्क्ष्यपत्रं च शङ्कितलिखनक्रमः ।
अङ्कपत्रविभाषा च भाषापत्रस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ८ ॥

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* In reconstructing the text, the corrupt portions are indicated by dotted lines. The editor is responsible for the numbering of the verses.

1 - 19. Omitted by B.

5. C निर्देशतः for निदेशतः ।
6. C श्रीमान् for श्रीमद् ।
12. C पत्रभङ्गप्रमाणकम् for पत्र...भङ्गकम् ।
14. C आनयन for नयन ।
15. C पत्रप्रपठनं for पत्रस्य पठनं ।
16. C कीर्तनं for कर्तनं ।
17. C प्रशस्त for प्रशस्ति ।

कीर्तिवर्णनश्लोकाश्च प्रीतिश्लोकास्तथैव च । 20
नीतिश्लोकाश्च ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् समासेनोपवर्णिताः ॥ ९ ॥

अथ पत्ररञ्जनम्—

सुवर्णरूप्यरक्ताद्यै रञ्जयेत् पत्रमुत्तमम् ।
सामान्येन तु मध्यानां पत्ररञ्जनमीरितम् ॥ १० ॥

अथ पत्रप्रमाणम्— 25

षडङ्गुलाधिकं हस्त पत्रमुत्तममीरितम् ।
मध्यमं हस्तमात्रं स्यात् सामान्यं मुष्टिहस्तकम् ॥ ११ ॥

अथ पत्रभङ्गप्रकारः—

पत्रं तु त्रिगुणीकृत्य ऊर्द्ध्वे तु द्विगुणं त्यजेत् ।
शेषभागे लिखेद्वर्णं गद्यपद्यादिसंयुतम् ॥ १२ ॥ 30

अथ लेखकलक्षणम्—

ब्राह्मणो मन्त्रणाभिज्ञो राजनीतिविशारदः ।
नानलिपिज्ञो मेधावी नानाभाषासमन्वितः ॥ १३ ॥
मन्त्रणाचतुरो धीमान् नीतिशास्त्रार्थकोविदः ।
सन्धिविग्रहभेदज्ञो राजकार्यविचक्षणः ॥ १४ ॥ 35
सदा राजहितान्वेषी राजसन्निधिसङ्गतः ।
कार्याकार्यविचारज्ञः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः ॥ १५ ॥
स्वरूपवादी शुद्धात्मा धर्मज्ञो राजधर्मवित् ।
एवमादिगुणैर्युक्तः स एव राजलेखकः ॥ १६ ॥

अथ पत्ररचनक्रमः— 40

राजलेखकमाहूय नृपो ब्रूयात् प्रयत्नतः ।
पत्रं कुरु यथायोग्यं गद्यपद्यादिसंयुतम् १७ ॥

20-21. Omitted by B.
22. Instead of this line, B reads— शब्दकल्पद्रुमे अथ पत्रलिपिः तस्य लक्षणं यथा ।
23. B सुवर्णकस्य रक्ताद्यै for सुवर्ण...रक्ताद्यै ।
24. A, B सामान्योत्तममध्यानां for सामान्येन तु मध्यानां ।
25. Omitted by A.
28. B reads thus—अथ पत्रारम्भप्रकारः ।
30. B, C वर्णान् for वर्णं, संयुतान् for संयुतम् ।
31-39. Omitted by B.
35. C कार्ये for कार्य ।
36. C संस्थितः for सङ्गतः ॥
39-40. Between these lines, C reads
नृपानुवर्ती सततं नृपविश्वासरक्षकः ।
नृपतेश्च हितान्वेषी स एव राजलेखकः ॥
40. C पत्रस्य for पत्र ।
40-42. Omitted by A.

पण्डितं स्वयमानीय लेखको रहसि स्थितः ।
यथायोग्यानुसारेण पत्रं कुर्यान्मनोरमम् ॥ १८ ॥
दिनद्वयत्रयं वापि विचार्य पण्डितेन वै । 45
स्वभ्रान्तेर्दूषणं ज्ञात्वा विलिखेत् पत्रपुस्तकैः ॥ १९ ॥
सामान्यपत्रे संलिख्य रहसि श्रावयेन्नृपम् ।
नृपाज्ञया श्रुते पत्रे विलिखेद् राजलेखकः ॥ २० ॥

अथ पत्रलेखनप्रकारः—

अङ्कुशं प्रथमं दद्यान्मङ्गलार्थं विचक्षणः । 50
मध्ये विन्दुसमायुक्तमधः ससाङ्कसंयुतम् ॥ २१ ॥
तदधः स्वस्ति विन्यस्य ततो गद्यं सुशोभनम् ।
ततः श्रीशब्दरूपाणि पदन्यासक्रमं लिखेत् ॥ २२ ॥
भाषया संस्कृतेनैव कुशलं विलिखेत् सुधीः ।
ततः शुभाशुभां वार्तां संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैस्तथा ॥ २३ ॥ 55
पत्रप्रमाणसन्देशं ततो वार्तां नियोजयेन् ।
कीर्तिप्रीतियुतं पद्यं ततः किमधिकादिकम् ॥ २४ ॥
पत्रप्रेषणश्लोकं च अङ्कमासादिसंयुतम् ।
सर्वेषामेव पत्रे तु लिखनं चैवमीरितम् ॥ २५ ॥
सर्वेषामेव पत्राणां विधिं ज्ञात्वा लिखेत्तु यः । 60
स्वदेशे कीर्तिमाप्नोति तथा देशान्तरेष्वपि ॥ २६ ॥
एवं शास्त्रक्रमं ज्ञात्वा यो लिखेद् राजपत्रकम् ।
स राजमन्त्रिभिः सार्द्धं यशः प्राप्नोत्यनुत्तमम् ॥ २७ ॥
शास्त्रसन्दर्भमज्ञात्वा यो लिखेद् राजपत्रकम् ।
स राजमन्त्रिभिः सार्द्धं दुर्यशो महदाप्नुयात् ॥ २८ ॥ 65

43-48. Omitted by A.
48. C शुभे for श्रुते ।
49. B, C omit पत्र. C लिखन for लेखन ।
50. A दत्त्वा for दद्यात् ।
51. B संयुतं तदधः for ससाङ्कसंयुतम् ।
52. B omits तदधः.
55. B omits प्राकृतैः.
56. B, C ततः for पत्रं; C प्रमाणं for प्रमाण ।
57. C पत्रं for पद्यं ।
59. The line is omitted by A. C पत्रेषु for पत्रे तु, लिखितं पत्रमीरितं for लिखनं चैवमीरितम् ।
61. A स for स्व, च for अपि ।
63. A सार्कं for सार्द्धं । C प्राप्नोति चोत्तमं for प्राप्नोत्यनुत्तमम् ।

अथ पत्रनयनक्रमः—

राजपत्रं नयेन्मूर्ध्नि ललाटे राजमन्त्रिणाम् ।
गुरुपत्रं नयेन्मूर्ध्नि ब्राह्मणानां तथैव च ॥ २९ ॥

यतिसंन्यासिनां चैव स्वामिनश्च तथैव च ।
सादरेणैव यत्नेन तथा मूर्द्धनि धारयेत् ॥ ३० ॥ 70

भार्यापुत्रस्य मित्रस्य हृदये धारयेत् सुधीः ।
प्रवीराणां कण्ठदेशे पत्रधारणमीरितम् ॥ ३१ ॥

एतेषां चैव पत्राणामुक्तं धारणलक्षणम् ।
अन्येषामपि पत्राणां नियमो नात्र दर्शितः ॥ ३२ ॥

अथ पत्रपठनप्रकारः— 75

पत्रं धृत्वा नमस्कृत्य पूर्वाग्रेणैव स्थापयेत् ।
दक्षिणाग्रेण सदसि नृपाग्रे राजलेखकः ॥ ३३ ॥

पत्रं वितत्य सदसि द्विवारं मनसा पठेत् ।
स्फुटं पश्चात् प्रवक्तव्यमक्षोभो राजलेखकः ॥ ३४ ॥

रहसि श्रावयेत् पत्रं शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम् । 80
पत्रं श्रुत्वा विदित्वार्थं सभायां श्रावयेत्ततः ॥ ३५ ॥

रहस्यपत्रं रहसि नृपाग्रे श्रावयेद्द्विजः ।
अशुभं नैव सदसि शुभं पत्रं नृपाज्ञया ॥ ३६ ॥

एवं क्रमेण पत्रार्थं श्रावयित्वा द्विजोत्तमः ।
नृपतेः सन्निधौ स्थित्वा नृपाज्ञामनुवर्तते ॥ ३७ ॥ 85

अथ पत्रचिह्नानि—

ऊर्ध्वं षडङ्गुलं त्यक्त्वा वर्तुलं चन्द्रबिम्बवत् ।
कस्तूरीकुङ्कुमैः कुर्याद्राजपत्रं सुचिह्नितम् ॥ ३८ ॥

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67. A, C पत्रमन्त्रिणाम् (?) for राज...... ।
69. B स्वामिनां for स्वामिनः ।
72. A अरीणां कण्ठदेशे च for प्रवीराणां कण्ठदेशे ।
75. A क्रमः for प्रकारः ।
76. B पूर्वाग्रे स्थापयेत् सुधीः for पूर्वाग्रेणैव स्थापयेत् ।
79. C साक्षात् for अक्षोभो ।
82. A नृपतिं for नृपाग्रे ।
83. A राजाज्ञया ततः for पत्रं नृपाज्ञया ।
87-88. Omitted by A.

मन्त्रिणां कुङ्कुमेनैव पण्डितस्यैव चन्दनैः ।
गुरूणां चन्दनेनैव सिन्दूरेणैव स्वामिनः ॥ ३९ ॥ 90

भार्यायाश्चाप्यलक्तेन चन्दनैः पितृपुत्रयोः ।
संन्यासिनां चन्दनेन यतीनां कुङ्कुमेन च ॥ ४० ॥

रक्तचन्दनपङ्केन भृत्यस्य समुदीरितम् ।
शोणितेनैव शत्रूणां पत्रचिह्नं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ ४१ ॥

एतेषां चैव सर्वेषां यथायोग्यानुसारतः । 95
पत्रस्योर्ध्वे तु मतिमान् कुर्याच्चिह्नं सुवर्तुलम् ॥ ४२ ॥

अथ राजपत्रस्य कोणच्छेदप्रकारः—

दक्षिणे पत्रकोणस्य अधस्ताच्छेदयेत् सुधीः ।
एकाङ्गुलप्रमाणेन राजपत्रस्य चैव हि ॥ ४३ ॥

अथ राजपत्रादेः पदन्यासः— 100

महाराजाधिराजं च दानशौण्डं तथैव च ।
तथा सच्चरितं योज्यं कल्पवृक्षादिकं न्यसेत् ॥ ४४ ॥
यथायोग्यानुसारेण तथैव गुणभेदतः ।
राजपत्रेषु सर्वेषु पदन्यासक्रमं विदुः ॥ ४५ ॥

अथ मन्त्रिपत्रस्य— 105

प्रथमं गुणभेदेन तथा सच्चरितादिकम् ।
विन्यस्य विलिखेत् प्राज्ञो मन्त्रिपत्रे पदक्रमम् ॥ ४६ ॥

अथ पण्डितस्य—

संख्यावद्वन्दितपदं शास्त्रार्थनिपुणादिकम् ।
पण्डितानां च पत्रेषु विलिखेद् वै पदक्रमम् ॥ ४७ ॥ 110

89-90. Omitted by A.
93. B भृत्यानां for भृत्यस्य ।
94. A च for एव ।
96. B ऊर्ध्वं for ऊर्ध्वे ।
97. B छेदन for छेद ।
98. C छेदयेदधस्तात् सुधीः for अध...सुधीः ।
100. A पत्रस्य for पत्रादेः, पदन्यासप्रकारः for पदन्यासः । B महाराज for राज ।
102. C योग्यं for योज्यं ।
105. A adds पदन्यासप्रकारः to this line.
106. A प्रवरं (?) [C प्रकरं (?)] for प्रथमं ।
108. A पण्डितपत्रस्य, and adds पदन्यासप्रकारः to this line.
109. B प्राज्ञो for शास्त्र ।

अथ गुरुपत्रस्य—

सांख्यसिद्धान्तनिपुणं नमस्कारादिकं पदम् ।
विन्यस्य विलिखेत् प्राज्ञो गुरुपत्रे पदक्रमम् ॥ ४८ ॥

अथ स्वामिपत्रस्य—

प्रवर्यं सनमस्कारं प्राणप्रियादिकं पदम् । 115
विन्यस्य विलिखेद्धीमान् स्वामिपत्रे पदक्रमम् ॥ ४९ ॥

अथ भार्यापत्रस्य—

प्राणप्रियापदं साध्वीं तथा सच्चरितादिकम् ।
भार्यापत्रे लिखेद् विद्वान् पदक्रममनुत्तमम् ॥ ५० ॥

अथ पितृपत्रस्य— 120

प्रभुवर्यं नमस्कारं तथा सच्चरितादिकम् ।
विन्यस्य विलिखेत् पुत्रः पितृपत्रे पदक्रमम् ॥ ५१ ॥

अथ संन्यासियतिपत्रस्य—

सर्ववाञ्छाविनिर्मुक्तं सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगम् ।
संन्यासियतिपत्रेषु विलिखेच्च पदक्रमम् ॥ ५२ ॥ 125

सामान्यस्य—

111. A adds पदन्यासप्रकारः. C omits गुरु.
112. C संख्या for सांख्य । B सनमस्कारकं पदं for नम...पदम् ।
113. A reads thus—साष्टाङ्गप्रणिपातं च गुरुपत्रे पदक्रमम् ।
111-3. Read by C after l. 116.
114. A adds पदन्यासप्रकारः (C merely पदन्यासः) ।
115. C प्राया for प्रिया ।
117. A adds पदन्यासप्रकारः ।
119. C पत्र for पद ।
119-20. Between these lines, C reads—

अथ पुत्रस्य पत्रस्य—
प्राणपुत्रपदं तद्वत् तथा सच्चरितादिकम् ।
आशीर्वचनसंयुक्तं पुत्रपत्रे पदक्रमम् ॥

120. A adds पदन्यासप्रकारः ।
121. C पितुरार्यं for प्रभुवर्यं ।
123. A adds पदन्यासप्रकारः ।
125. A वै for च ।
126. A, C omit the word.

सामान्यभृत्यशत्रूणां विनियोज्यामुकं प्रति ।
......पदं भृत्यतुल्यादिकं तथा ॥ ५३ ॥
एतेषामेव पत्रेषु यथायोग्यानुसारतः ।
विन्यस्य विलिखेत् प्राज्ञः पदक्रममनुत्तमम् ॥ ५४ ॥ 130

अथ श्रीशब्दविन्याससंख्या—

षड्गुरोः स्वामिनः पञ्च द्वे भृत्ये चतुरो रिपौ ।
श्रीशब्दानां त्रयं मित्रे ह्येकैकं पुत्रभार्ययोः ॥ ५५ ॥

अथ राज्ञः प्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्तिश्रीगीर्वाणचयचूडारत्नराजिरोचिश्चुम्बितचन्द्रचूडचरणनखेन्दुवृन्दचन्द्रिका- 135
सन्दोहास्वादचतुरचेतश्चकोरवरविषमसमरसंचरत्-प्रबलतरतुरगखुरपुटपटलदलितभू-
पृष्ठोत्तिष्ठद्भूयिष्ठधूलिधाराधूसरितसकलहरिदन्तकप्रचण्डभुजदण्डभ्राजमानखरतरारि-
वित्रासितप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिसार्थप्रार्थितानुकम्पासुधासम्पातानवरतविद्वद्दारिद्र्यविद्रा-
वणद्रविणराशिदानविश्राणनसमुपार्जितयशो.........सञ्चितयशोमृणालजालभूपाल-
कुलोज्ज्वलतिलकश्रीलश्रीयुतमहाराजाधिराजेषु ॥ 140

स्वस्ति सुचिराराधितश्रीविश्वेश्वरचरणसरोरुहानुग्रहसमासादितातिविततानवद्य-
विद्याविलासपीयूषपरम्परा.........विविधालङ्कारालङ्कृत....................

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128. The dotted portion is corrupt in A. B शलावशेषित (?) । C अग्रे विशेषित (?) ।
131. B omits अथ, adds यथा to the line. A reads—श्रीशब्दस्य पदन्यासप्रकारः for श्री... संख्या । C omits the line.
132. B द्विगुणा for चतुरो ।
133. A द्वयं for त्रयं ।
134. A राज for राज्ञः ।
135. A omits श्रीः.
136. A, B omit समर.
137. C भुजाग्रभू (?) for भुजदण्ड ।
139. C omits दान. The portion indicated by the dotted line is corrupt in A, B and C.
140. For the portion in thick type, C appears to read कलाकल्पतरु (?). After this line C reads as follows—
स्वस्तिश्रीमन्मुरहरभगवच्चरणारविन्दद्वन्द्वमकरन्दसन्दोहास्वादानन्दितमनो ...... गीर्वाणगणदारिद्र्यविद्रावणद्रविणराशिविश्राणनोपार्जितयशः सुधाधामधारालङ्कृतधरामण्डलप्रबलप्रताप......। स्वस्ति श्रीविश्वेश्वरचरणसरोरुहानुग्रहसमासादितातिवितत ...... विलासपीयूषपरम्परा ...... विविधालङ्कारालङ्कृत ...... भूयिष्ठशब्दार्थसन्दर्भचातुरीसमुपचितानुपमयशः शारदसुधाधामभूषितभूमण्डलाखण्डलासम्मानितश्रीयुतमहाराजाधिराजेषु । स्वस्ति ...... वदान्यगणसञ्चितयशस्तारापटल......नवरतविहितातिनिर्मलमहिमा प्रचण्डांशुदानधाराध्वंसितविद्वद्दारिद्र्यध्वान्तसन्तानाहितोद्वेगभरपरमार्जुनप्रबल ...... विहितगुणखर्वाकूपारवीचि......सुखारोहणसाधन ...... भूदेव ...... पावनोचितपुण्यपरंपरापवित्रीकृतधरित्रीतलश्रीलश्रीमहा...॥
[This is the concluding portion of C.]
141-142. Omitted by B, C.

स्वस्तिप्रचण्डदोर्दण्डि.........मुक्तावलीमण्डितसंग्रा.......वारणवाहादिकायकाण्ड ....नक्षत्रचक्रचन्द्र... ... ...रतिक्रमणीयापगापतिप्रभृतयश्चन्द्रचन्द्रिका ....सिलजगन्मङ्गलाविविधद्रविणार्पणसंतोषितसूरिसमूहस्तूयमानावदातकीर्ति- नर्तकीनर्तनलीलालेपलेपितगीतिधूरीणोर्वश्यादिवेश्याजनसविलासगीयमानगुणश्रवणा- न्दोलितश्रवणकुण्डलपरितः प्रसर्पितप्रतापतपनोत्तापिताराति.........समध्यासि- तनिकुञ्जकुञ्ज.........श्रीमन्नारायणचरणकिंकर श्रीयुतमहाराजदानशौण्डेषु (?) 145

अथ मन्त्रिप्रशस्तिः—

ओम् स्वस्तिश्रीसमस्तसामन्तसेवकनिर्वाहकेषु कोशगोकृषिकृषीवलगजवाजिगृहपरि ....नीतिसेतु......निपुणेषु श्रीश्रीमन्त्रिप्रवीरेषु 150

अथ गुरुप्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्ति श्रीनारायणपादपा.........मकरन्दमधु.........मानसेषु विविधविद्या- विद्योति...........वेदवेदाङ्गपारगस्वाश्रमोचिताचारसंपन्नपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य- सेव्यमानश्रीगोविन्द.........चरणारविन्देषु कोटिशः प्रणामः ॥ 155

अथ भार्यायाः स्वामिप्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्ति श्रीमदुद्दामप्रेमहेमभूषिता ....कामस्य ....श्रीमत्स्वामि- चरणारविन्देषु गोविन्द इव इन्दिरायाः शङ्कर इव गिरिजायाः महेन्द्र इव पुलोमजायाः प्रतिदिनं वर्द्धमान.........राधनाप्रणामपूर्वमास्ताम् ॥

अथ भर्तुर्भार्याप्रशस्तिः— 160

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समस्तप्रेम.........लावण्य...........प्रियतमायां नेत्रयुग्म ....क्षणदायामिव कमलाकरस्य कमलिन्यामिव पथि.........छायामिव तृषातुरस्य शीतलामृतधारायामिव मम सप्रेमनिवेदयन्ती...........सर्वदा ।

अथ पुत्रस्य पितरं प्रति प्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्ति श्रीमदभिनववशंवदचित्तचिन्तितस्वीयानुरागानुरञ्जितानुगृहीतस्व....... निजचरणसरोजरञ्जितपरागसंरक्तास्मदादिभालस्थलविशालभाग्यसंभावकेषु श्रीयुत- पितृचरणसरोरुहेषु अकिंचित्करकिंकरस्य मम बद्धकरसंपुटस्यावनीपृष्ठलग्नाः साष्टाङ्गप्रणतयः सहस्रमजस्रं विज्ञाप्यं च ॥ 165

अथ पितुः पुत्रं प्रति प्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्ति श्रीविश्वेश्वरचरणसरोरुहानुग्रहसमासादितातिविततानवद्यविद्याविलास- पीयूषपरंपरा.........विविधगुणालंकृतनिजवंशावतंससकलविश्वासनिधाननिजकुल- पवित्रीकृतात्मप्रायेषु श्रीयुतशुद्धाचारपरिपूरितपुत्रेषु ॥ शुभाशिषां राशयः सन्तु विज्ञाप्यं च । 170

143–173. Omitted by C.

अथ संन्यासियतिप्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यकरणनिपुण.........विषमविषयदोषादर्शन ....वेदवेदान्तसांख्यसिद्धान्त.........प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेकज्ञानशीलेषु...... वन्दितचरणारविन्द..........परिपालनपवित्रीकृतधरित्रीतलेषु सकलभूदेवपूजित-श्रीयुतगोस्वामिचरणारविन्देषु ममावनीसंलग्नाः साष्टाङ्गप्रणामसहस्रमजस्रं ॐ नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रेणाकलितमस्तु । 175

अथ भृत्यप्रशस्तिः— 180

स्वस्ति भगवच्चरणपरायणसकलद्रविणाधिरञ्जकगोमहिष्यादिप्रतिपालकनिखिलवंशानुसेवकवशंवदा.........भृत्यं प्रति ॥

अथारिप्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्तिसम.........भ्रष्टप्रतिभटायशः परिपूरितसकलसामन्तराज........... राजधानीविजृम्भितवीरशस्त्रावघोषित....नुरञ्जकसततपरित्रस्तशरणागतामुकं प्रति । 185

अथ विवेकिनां प्रशस्तिः—

स्वस्ति श्रीभगवत्पदपङ्कजपूजनोपचितपुण्यपुञ्जपवित्रीकृतान्तःकरण.......... मिलन्म.........कला.........निरवधिवसुविश्राणनाधरीकृतसुरपुरभूमिरुहेषु ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्परमेश्वरपादपाथोरुहास्वादचतुर............वृन्दावनजनिताचित ....पङ्कपटलालङ्कृतदि..........स्तनतटप्रवलम्ब..........प्रत्यर्थिसार्थगर्वाकूपारपारेषु ॥ 190

इति श्रीमद्वररुचिकृता पत्रकौमुदी समाप्ता ॥

174–192. Omitted by C.

NĀṬAKA AND NARTANA

By

S. K. BELVALKAR

Assuming that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is the earliest of the three extant plays of Kālidāsa, the greatest poet of India, that play, it will be noticed, brings out the very close relation that there exists, according to Kālidāsa, between Dramaturgy and Dancing. The heroine of the play, Mālavikā, with whom the hero, King Agnimitra, is already in love, is assigned as a pupil to Gaṇadāsa, the Palace dancing - master. The Second Act of the play is devoted to the display — by appropriate movements of the hands, feet, eyes, and other parts of the body — of the different emotions[1] conveyed by each of the following four lines of the song sung by Mālavikā. No doubt there is a technique in the actor's movements, which only connoisseurs can properly understand, but they are not beyond the power of an ordinary spectator to appreciate in a general way. These lines are :

(1) *Dullaho pio ; tassiṁ bhava hṛdaya nirāsaṁ.*
["Hard to attain is the dear one : Give up, O my heart, all hope regarding him."]

(2) *Amho ! Apaṅgao me paphurati kiṁpi vāmo.*
["Alack ! The corner of my left eye throbs : I know not the reason why."]

(3) *Eso so ciradiṭṭho : Kahaṁ uvaṇaidavvo ?*
["Here he is : seen after a long time ! How can I secure him ?"]

(4) *Pāhi maṁ parāhīṅaṁ tai gaṇaa satiṇhaṁ.*
["Save me, (my dear Lord) : consider me as entirely dependent upon, and thirsting for thee."]

2. While thus the *Mālavikāgnimitra* describes the singing and dancing accomplishments of a talented human dancer, Kālidāsa's next drama, the *Vikramorvaśīya,* deals with the same attainments of a heavenly *apsaras* named Urvaśī, who is amongst the most accomplished pupils of sage

1. These are : *nairāśya* (despair), *āśā* (hope), *saṁkalpa* (intention), and *ātmasamarpaṇa* (self-surrender). — At the Baroda Session (1937) of the All-India Oriental Conference, there was an attempt made by a couple of clever students to successfully display these emotions by appropriate bodily movements.

Bharata, the reputed author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, whose task it always was to provide, on special occasions, dancing and musical and dramatic shows to entertain Indra's distinguished guests. Urvaśī, the heroine of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya*, is, accordingly, trained by Bharata to play the part of Lakṣmī in the drama named the *Lakṣmīsvayaṁvara*, which sage Bharata is to present at Indra's Court in Heaven.

3. Act I of the Vikramorvaśīya describes the rescue of Urvaśī from the clutches of the demons by king Purūravas, and the dawn of their mutual love at first sight. Shortly afterwards, in Act 2, Urvaśī takes the earliest opportunity to come down from Heaven to have her first meeting with Purūravas; but hardly have they exchanged a few words when Urvaśī is unexpectedly called back to Heaven by a special messenger, as Indra wants immediately to arrange a special exhibition of the new play, the *Lakṣmīsvayaṁvara*. In this play occurs a scene in which Urvaśī, assuming the role of the heroine Lakṣmī, is asked by her friend Menakā, playing the part of Lakṣmī's friend Vāruṇī:

> *Sahi, samāadā ede tellokka-supurisā sa-Kesavā loapālā. Kadamassiṁ de bhāvāhiṇiveso?* [My friend, here are assembled the best personalities of the three worlds, including Keśava and the Lokapālās. Upon whom is your heart fixed ?]

To this question, Urvaśī, compelled to return from her first interrupted interview with Purūravas, almost involuntarily replies: *Purūrave* (upon Purūravas), in place of *Purusottame* (upon Puruṣottama), which latter could alone fit Lakṣmī's rôle. This was too serious a blunder, for which her teacher Bharata curses her to forfeit her place in Heaven. Indra, however, takes pity upon her, and permits her to go and live with Purūravas *"jāva so tui diṭṭha-saṁtāno bhavati"* (until he sees the face of the first issue from thee). The shrewd Nymph carries her shrewdness still further and keeps from Purūravas all knowledge of her first issue (and the possibility of the king seeing him) by sending their first-born son secretly to the hermitage of sage Cyavana. For all her cunning, however, Fate gets the better of her. Almost in the midst of her first honeymoon with her lover Purūravas, she is transformed into a creeper on account of her unwitting entrance into the Kumāravana, with the result that there is no possibility of any further display of Urvaśī's skill in dancing either in heaven or on earth.

4. But Kālidāsa displays his knowledge of the technique of dancing madness in the Prākṛta portion of the Fourth Act of the Play, which portion appears to me to be a genuine part of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīyam*. It would, however, be better to leave the topic here and pass on to consider

the *Abhijñānaśākuntala,* which is correctly regarded as the best Play of India's greatest dramatist.

5. The first four acts of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala,* ignoring the song of Naṭī, do not permit any opportunity for the display of music, singing, or dancing, although the heroine Śakuntalā and her companions know reading[2], writing[3], painting[4], and, of course, gardening. In Act V we have, in the palace of king Duṣṣanta, Haṁsapadikā singing, behind the curtain to the accompaniment of the lute, and in Act VI, after the *praveśaka,* we have the two palace attendants, Parabhṛtikā and Madhukarikā, emotionally excited by the approach of the Spring, and offering mango-blossom to the God of Love and soliciting his favour. The mentality of these girls is of a kin with that of the *apsarases* in Indra's Heaven. But, in all existing editions of the *Śākuntala,* there is no dancing as such.

6. In the unique birch-bark MS. from Kashmir, procured by BUHLER for the Bombay Government Collection in 1875—which has several acceptable readings of its own that both the objective as well as subjective canons of textual criticism can fully justify—we have, however, by way of a *praveśaka* to Act VII, a short scene introducing two *nākalāsikās* or heavenly dancers, who have not only the bewitching grace and attainments, but the usual mentality of the *apsarases,* longing for a royal lover like Vikrama or Duṣṣanta. The scene is given amongst the variant readings in the first edition of PATANKAR (1889), and BURKHARD, transliterating the birch-mark MS., has reproduced it in Roman characters (1884) ; but many errors in reading have crept into their texts. This scene not only provides a *praveśaka* to the 7th Act, which it badly needs, but fits in with Kālidāsa's general practice. The *praveśaka,* accordingly, is going to be included in the Sāhitya Academy Edition of the Śākuntala that has been assigned to me, wherein further remarks on the point have been added — I have not here given a Sanskrit paraphrase or Chāyā for the original Prākrit, its English Translation being however, given at the bottom of the page.—BURKHARD also found another Kashmirian MS., which apparently was an inferior copy of the original manuscript.

7. It might be incidentally observed that Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* is already a longish play, and the omission of the present *praveśaka,* which is not vitally connected with the central story, may be due to that circumstance. But no interpolator would think of inserting such an additional passage, unless he (like Kālidāsa himself) is absolutely enamoured of music and dancing. The birch-bark MS. contains several other additions and variants in reading that can also be justified, as I have shown in the edition above mentioned.

2. Act 1, St. 26, line 2. 3. Act 2, St. 11, line 1.
4. Act 4, St. 5, line 12.

अथ सप्तमोऽङ्कः ।

ततः प्रविशति नाकलासिका ।

नाकलासिका । आणत्तं हि गुरुणा णारएण जहा—एदेसु य्येव दिअसेसु मच्चलोआदो उत्तिण्णेण राएसिणा दुस्सन्तेण भअवदो पुरंदरस्स पिअआरिणा दाणववहणिमित्तं गन्तव्वं । जाव अब्भत्थिअ इमं आपुच्छिअमाणं णिक्खिवदि ताव एव्व मए विबुहपक्खकं मङ्गलणिमित्तं किंपि पेक्खणअं दरसइदव्वं । ता तुमं कंपि लासिअं अण्णेसिअ संगीदसालासु आअच्छ त्ति । ता जाव लासिअं अण्णेसामि । *परिक्रम्यावलोक्य च ।* का उण एसा गहीदवरणेवच्छा हरिसुदुक्कण्ठिदा विअ इदो एव्व आअच्छदि । *निपुणमवलोक्य ।* कहं पिअसही चूदमञ्जरी । ता जाव एदाए सह उवज्झाअसमीवं गच्छामि । *प्रतिपालयति ।*

ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा लासिका ।

चूतमञ्जरी । *सविस्मयं सहर्षं च ।* अहो महप्पभावो राएसी दुस्सन्तो । *सासूयम् ।* अहो महाबलो सो इदो दुज्जयो दाणवबलो । *नृत्यति ।*

प्रथमा । *उपसृत्य ।* स हि चूदमञ्जरिए । उक्कण्ठिदा विअ लच्छीअसि ।

चूतमञ्जरी । कहं पारिजादमञ्जरी । स हि । सव्वं कधयिस्सं । तुमं दाव कहिं पत्थिदेति पुच्छिस्सं ।

पारिजातमञ्जरी । सहि । संखेवेण कधयिस्सं । अहं खु राएसिणो दुस्सन्तस्स दाणवविजअववदेसेण अज्ज मङ्गलणिमित्तं किंपि पेक्खणअं दंसी अदुत्ति उवज्झाअस्स अण्णाए उभे य्येव सआसं—

चूतमञ्जरी । *सोत्कण्ठम् ।* आसी अवसरो एदस्स । दाणिं पुणो मच्चलोअं पत्थिदे एदस्सिं महाराए कस्स दंसीअदि ।

पारिजातमञ्जरी । *साशङ्कम् ।* सहि । किं महेन्दस्स मणोरहाणि संपादिअ गदो उद अण्णधा ।

चूतमञ्जरी । सहि सुणु । अज्ज य्येव गोसग्गसमए णवरं दुज्जअदाणवजीविदसव्वस्ससेसं जाव अतिदस विलासिणीसरसहिअआइं गिहितुण अवणिं अहिप्पट्ठिदो । अदो अ मे हरिसोक्कण्ठाणं कारणं ।

पारिजातमञ्जरी । सहि । तए पिअं णिवेदिदं । जं एव्व उवज्झाएण पुरुवंसराएसिणो पुरदो कादुं अण्णत्तं तं जेव्व गीदं कादुण एत्थ एव करेम्ह ।

चूतमञ्जरी । जं दे रोअदि ।

पारिजातमञ्जरी । ता जं य्येव गीदं मए लविदं तए वा तह णच्चेम्ह ।

चूतमञ्जरी । सहि । एव्वं करेम्ह ।

उभे । *गायतः ।*

अविसअगमणं कंचण अण्णं अ सरागमालि महुसमए ।
अण्णं कुणइ विसण्णं पाडीइमाण भूमीएं ॥

इत्युभे नर्तित्वा निष्क्रान्ते ।

प्रवेशकः ।

ACT SEVEN

PRAVEŚAKA

Then enters a Dancer from Heaven

Celestial Dancer — It has been ordered by Preceptor Nārada that, in these very days, the Royal-Sage Duṣṣanta, who has come up from the world-of-mortals to achieve what is desired by revered Indra, is to start forth for the purpose of killing the Demon. So, just during the period that he, after being received with honour, is taking leave and proceeding to kill the Demon, there is to be presented before him, by way of something auspicious, some dramatic dance-show in the presence of the Gods. Therefore, do you find out another dancing companion and come to the Musical-Hall. So I shall search for a dancer. (*Moves about in search.*) Who, now, is this one that, having put on high-class garments, is coming up this very way, full of eagerness and joy? (*Observing minutely.*) Why ? 'Tis Cūtamañjarī. So then, I shall, in her company, go up to the Preceptor. (*Stands waiting.*)

Thereupon enters the Lady-Dancer (Cūtamañjarī).

Cūtamañjarī — (*With astonishment and joy*). How exalted in prowess is the Royal-Sage Duṣṣanta ! (*With jealous hankering*) Wonderful ! That Durjaya, the strength of the Demons, great in prowess though he was, has been killed outright ! (*Starts dancing.*)

First Dancer — (*Approaching*) Friend Cūtamañjarī ! You appear as though full of eager longing.

Cūtamañjarī — (*Observing*) How now ? 'Tis Pārijātamañjarī. Friend, I shall tell you everything. But, I should first like to inquire, whither are you now proceeding ?

Pārijātamañjarī — Friend, I shall narrate it in brief. I, verily, under the order of the Teacher [Nārada] to the effect that, in anticipation of the victory over the Demon, there should be presented, by way of something auspicious, some show today, with the possibility that both of us might together ——.

Cūtamañjarī — (*With eagerness*) There *was* an occasion for that. But now that this great King has started towards the World of Mortals, to whom is it to be shown ?

Pārijātamañjarī — (*With apprehension*) Friend ! Has he gone *after* fulfilling the desire of the great Indra ; or is it otherwise?

Cūtamañjarī — Listen, my friend. This very day, at the hour of the release of the cattle (from the cow-pen), he has started towards the Earth, having conquered outright not only the lives of the entire remnant of the invincible Demons, but also the amorous hearts of the damsels in Heaven. That is the reason of my joy as well of eager longing.

Pārijātamañjarī — My friend ! You have told me a pleasing news. So, the very same show that the Preceptor Nārada had commanded us to exhibit before the Royal-sage of the Puru race, that very same, let us exhibit right here, after singing the song.

Cūtamañjarī — As you please.

Pārijātamañjarī — So then, with reference to the same song that I may sing, or the same sung by thee, let us together dance.

Both sing together :

"This time of the Spring, while it renders someone averse to the influence of love, another, My Friend, is filled with passion : while a third it makes senseless, being thrown down on the earth."

Both dance and go out

END OF PRAVEŚAKA

SUSHIL KUMAR DE'S CONTRIBUTION TO BENGALI LITERATURE

By

DEVIPADA BHATTACHARYA

Shri Sushil Kumar DE is known to the learned society both at home and abroad as an erudite scholar, a great Indologist and an authority on textual editing. But few of his admirers outside Bengal know him as a major Bengali poet. His literary and critical essays have enriched our prose literature. It is not possible in this short essay to present a detailed account of his poetry and essays; readers should take it only as an introduction.

Sushil Kumar's first poetical work *'Dīpālī'* (1928) is a book of sonnets. Sonnet in Bengali poetry was first introduced by Michael Madhusudan Datta. He hoped that 'if cultivated by men of genius our sonnet in time would rival the Italian'. But while he was successful in building up the Petrarchan structure, he failed to infuse much life into them. Then came Rabindranath with his *'Kaḍi O Komal'* (sharps and flats)—a book of sonnets modelled on the Shakespearean rhyme-scheme. In content these are poems of sensuous passion, yet with a cry to escape from it. Signs of immaturity are evident in the sonnets of 'sharps and flats'. Rabindranath in later period left the European masters of sonnets and wrote 'fourteen-lined' poems in his *'Caitāli'* and *'Naivedya'*. Rather his two friends of youth Aksayakumar Baral and Devendranath Sen wrote beautiful sonnets of passion and sentiment.

Sushil Kumar in his sonnets has for his motto, "Poetry for love's sake". He is no poet of nature or divine love; nor an intellectual pessimist like Jatindranath Sengupta. He refuses to be a Hamlet professing to set right the 'world out of joints' or to turn into a revolutionary firebrand like Nazrul Islam. On the contrary he believes in what William Morris says:

> Dreamer of dreams, born out of my due time,
> Why should I strive to set the crooked straight?

He has some affinity in outlook with Mohitlal Mazumdar, but truly speaking Mohitlal is not a poet of love. His bold revolt against the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer and high homage to Woman took the

Bengali youth by storm. But Sushil Kumar, essentially a romantic poet, writes sonnets 'simple, sensuous and passionate' which are free from satires or sermons. The key-note of his lyrics may be treated in the following lines:

> Love took up the harp of life and smote on all
> the chords with might,
> Smote the chord of self, that trembling pass'd
> in music out of sight.

His sonnets are rich in sentiment (without being sentimental) both sensuous and sublime. In one of his sonnets he says:

> This is no venom — but the brimming nectar-juice of
> the grapes of life; eagerly and lovingly do I want
> to make her drink — may the jar that is body be
> shattered with tremors.

In another he sings:

> Our union is complete in the bond of infinite separation.
> Your image is revealed fresh and clear by the sacrificial
> fire of my suffering.

He tends to write at places a kind of sonnet-sequence, which reminds us of the sonnets of Spenser and Shakespeare. But his favourite poets are D. G. Rossetti and the Brownings. His sonnets are really "moment's monument" where the instant is made into eternity. Like Rossetti "he pipes a solitary tune of his own life, its love, its despair, its exceeding bitterness".

As regards the structure of his sonnets he is one should say '*atikrānta-prasiddha-saraṇi*'. A Petrarchan sonnet in its rhyme order permits only two rhyme-sounds in the octave and three in the sestet. A Shakespearean sonnet differs from Petrarchan structure. Instead of having octave and sestet sharply differentiated in rhyme arrangement it is made up of three quatrains concluded by a couplet with a new rhyme. Sushil Kumar follows mostly the Petrarchan model in his rhyme order but ends with a rhymed couplet in Shakespearean pattern. It may be argued in his behalf that rigorous observance of any rhyme-order is often a hindrance to the best expression of the poet's sentiment. T. S. Eliot observes: "In a perfect sonnet what you admire is not so much the author's skill in adapting himself to the pattern as the skill and power with which he makes the pattern comply with what he has to say" (*The Music of Poetry*).

Kṣaṇa Dīpikā (1948), his last book of sonnets, is mainly a selection from *Dīpālī* (long out of print) with a few new lyrics included. Sushil Kumar in his sixtieth year, like Robert Browning in his '*Asolando*', surprised us with his new poem of love, fresh and green. His lyrics are romantic in attitude and classical in form where the sentiment of a poet and the restraint of an intellectual mind have been beautifully balanced.

His romantic mind, enriched by studies in Sanskrit literature and Poetics, creates a world of 'beauty and wonder' in '*Prāktanī*' (1934). A romantic poet by his magic-power of poetic imagination re-creates the past, that was a heaven of beauty. Madhusudan Datta and Rabindranath were the past-masters in this branch of poetry.

Sushil Kumar follows Ānandavardhan, the great exponent of 'Dhvani' School, who suggests that a talented poet has the right to re-create the themes of the past '*abhīṣṭa-rasocita*' and give a new interpretation to the 'characters' he portrays. The poems included are on Sītā, Śakuntalā, Urvaśī, Vāsavadattā, Umā, Vasantasenā, Mahāśvetā and Patralekhā. All these 'characters' are drawn from classical Sanskrit literature, but interpreted from the modern humanistic view. Māgha, the celebrated poet writes:

> kṣaṇe kṣaṇe yan-navatām upaiti
> tad eva rūpaṁ ramaṇīyatāyāḥ.

Sushil Kumar's poems in '*Prāktanī*' fully justify Māgha's remarks. These poems bring to mind's eye of the readers the women of the classical age as if reborn. They feel as Keats felt while listening to the song of the Nightingale:

> Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird!
> No hungry generations tread thee down:
>
> The same that oft times hath
> Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn.

The poetic expression in these poems is '*vaidagdhya-bhaṅgi-bhaṇiti*' as Kuntaka puts it. In classical grandeur, picturesqueness and haunting melody the poems in '*Prāktanī*' will ever remain 'a thing of beauty' to the '*Sahṛdaya Sāmājika*'.

While '*Prāktanī*' deals with the 'characters' of the classical period, '*Adyatanī*' (1941), as the name suggests, depicts different aspects of woman

of modern life. In *'Prāktanī'* we find romanticism and classicism wedded together, in *Adyatanī* the union is between romanticism and realism. The poems in *'Prāktanī'* are impersonal in outlook; those of *'Adyatanī'* are rather of personal experience. In the first poem 'Uṣā' the poet remembers his first-love who came in his youth like the first flush of dawn. In 'Mādhavī' appears the woman symbolising the spring season with all its radiance. In 'Chāyā' is portrayed the tragic life of a girl who loved passionately but could not open her heart to her lover and remained a shadow all her life. In 'Sīmantinī' (the best of the series) the poet speaks of the fundamental conflict of love and married life. The lover-in-husband suffers from passion and pain when he discovers that his object of love has turned only into a faithful and devoted wife, the fire of love extinguished for ever. It reminds the reader of a well-known passage of Bhāvaka Devī. Of the other pieces 'Sāgarikā' is the next best poem.

'Sāyantanī' (1954), his last poetical work, is the end of a cycle. In the poem 'Tasmai Devāya' he offers his last and best homage to 'Anaṅga' and thus he remains a poet of love through all his life, a genuine 'Śṛṅgāra-rasikaḥ'.

Sushil Kumar's another praiseworthy work is *'Līlayitā'*. It is an anthology of translations of short Sanskrit erotic verses. The original verses are from those of Amaru, Bhartṛhari, Vijjakā, Śilābhattārikā, Rājaśekhara and others. The translator has proved himself successful in transferring the emotion (*rasa*) of the original pieces to the modern readers.

The poet's mind is not absent in Sushil Kumar's critical essays which adds grace to the world of reason. A careful reader who goes through his *'History of Sanskrit Literature'* will feel the difference with the writings of A. B. Keith in attitude, treatment and expression. Not that he gives up his objective outlook, rather he is not a believer in subjective criticism. His literary essays bear the synthesis of objective analysis and poetic appreciation.

Written in English, his book *'Bengali Literature in the 19th Century'* gives for the first time an historical and critical account of the period from 1800-1825 A.D., a very important period in the development of modern Bengal. It is a pioneer work in the sense that it covers a detailed survey of the social, political and economic conditions of the period concerned, and shows the inter-links with the spirit and form of contemporary literature, both verse and prose. It remains even now a rare source-book for any serious study of that period.

His *'Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal'* is the first systematic and unbiased treatment of the subject. He analyses with a clear historical sense the nature of Bengal Vaisnavism, its philosophical, theological and ethical aspects, the Caitanya cult, the poetics of the Gosvamins etc. His is an outlook of scientific research free from emotionalism.

'Bāṅglā Pravād' was first published in 1945; the enlarged edition came out in 1952. This book is a compilation of Bengali proverbs; it is modelled on the Oxford dictionary of English proverbs. It includes nearly ten thousand proverbs, gleaned from oral and literary sources. The compilation speaks of the industry and patience of the author which is made out of love for the folk-culture of Bengal. The author has a deep respect for the homely language of Bengal's countryfolk. He believes in the fact that the more we reject this folk culture on the grounds of crudity and vulgarity the more we lose the vitality of life. The book is not a pioneer work but surely the largest and the richest.

His *'Dīnabandhu Mitra'* (1951) is based on the lectures he delivered in the University of Calcutta in the series of Saratchandra Memorial Lectures. Dinabandhu was first critically appreciated by Bankimchandra who applied Western methods of criticism to Bengali literature. Sushil Kumar sets Dinabandhu against a historical background and makes an assessment of Dinabandhu's objectivity and realism, satire and humour. He defends Dinabandhu in a forceful language against the hostile attacks of some Puritanic schools of thought.

'Nānā-nibandha' (1953) is a volume of essays written between 1917 to 1947. The essays include different topics: Women composers of Vedic hymns, Jayadeva and *Gītagovinda*, some old Bengali dramatists and songsters, Rammohan RAY, Madhusudan DATTA, Aksaya Kumar BARAL, Haraprasad SASTRI and others. The contributions bear witness to the versatile acumen, richness of thought, unorthodox approach of the intellectual and the fine, literary appreciation of the poet.

A good number of his critical and literary essays still remain scattered in reputed literary journals. Broadly, they may be classified into two sections:

One deals with Bhāsa's dramas, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, Bāṇa's Patralekhā (*Kādaṁbarī*) and similar topics; the other covers the activities of Alexander DUFF, Krishnamohan BANDYOPADHYAYA, Rajendralal MITRA, Aksaya Kumar DATTA — all the intellectual giants and reformers of the Bengali renaissance in the 19th century Bengal. In the first group of essays

Sushil Kumar reveals his 'rasika' self and in the later group of monographs he is objective with all available facts. He is no hero-worshipper in these biographical essays nor a Lytton Strachey of Eminent Victorians. He follows his impartial search for truth and shows the respect that is due.

As regards his prose style he is a follower of Bankimchandra. He writes in a chaste, lucid but dignified style, free from ambiguity or effusion.

Thus, Sushil Kumar combines in himself both *'bhāvayitrī'* and *'kārayitrī pratibhā'*, which Rājaśekhara praises so much.

THREE TOPICS IN MEDIAEVAL BENGALI POETRY
(ATMAPARICAYA, BHAṆITA AND PUṢPIKA)

By

DEVIPADA BHATTACHARYA, Calcutta

In 1778 HALHED's Bengali Grammar, the first printed book in Bengal, came into existence. The book was written by Nathaniel Brassey HALHED for the benefit of the 'Phiringis'. In the title-page we find 'phirīngınām upakārārthaṁ kriyate Halhed āngreji'. Charles WILKINS, an employee in the East India Company, was responsible for first preparing a set of Bengali types by which the work was printed. The Bengali types were found necessary for giving illustrations. Thus a new era began in Bengali literature with the setting up of the printing press.

But an author of the pre-printing period had not the opportunity of announcing his name in the title-page of his work. So they took up the task of giving their own account in the beginning of their work or in the colophon. Through *ātmaparicaya* and *bhaṇitā* the poets of the mediaeval Bengal sought to introduce themselves to their readers and listeners. Besides they were anxious of maintaining the 'copyright' of their works. A poet in those days needed a social introduction. Thus he had to mention his parentage, his clan, caste, creed and religion, even his native village.

In the mediaeval period, by which we mean the period beginning after the Turkish Conquest, we have very scanty materials at our disposal in the field of Bengali literature written in the 13th and the 14th century. In the 15th century Kṛttivāsa, Māladhara, Kavīndra Parameśvara, Vijaya Gupta and Vipradāsa Piplāi flourished. All of them have given an account of themselves in the beginning of their works. Kṛttivāsa composed his Bengali Rāmāyaṇa in the earlier part of the 15th century in Gauḍa under the patronage of king Gaṇeśa. He gives a detailed auto-biographical account (some scholars do not believe that the whole of it is genuine), from which we come to know that he was originally a resident of the village Phuliyā on the bank of the Ganges, his parents were Banamālī and Menakā (or Mālinī), his grand-father having been Murāri; he belonged to the 'Mukhati' family of Brahmins, read the Śāstras and having crossed the Ganges went to the court of king Gaṇeśa. The king requested him to compose the Rāmāyaṇa and offered him money. But the poet humbly refused the offer and composed his *Kāvya* in Bengali for the good of the

common people. Kṛttivāsa in this connection gives, among other matters, a history of his ancestors, and of the political disturbances in Eastern Bengal, possibly the Tughril revolt. Mālādhara Basu states that he was awarded the title of 'Guṇarāja Khān' by a Sultan of Gauḍa, and that he began to write his poem named *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* in Śaka 1395 and finished it in Śaka 1480. From the dates given we have no hesitation to conclude that Mālādhara was patronised by Sultan Rukun-uddin Barbak Shah (1459-1475 A.D.). Mālādhara says that his parents were Bhagīratha and Indumatī, his native village was Kulīnagrām and he was a Kāyastha by caste. Mālādhara based his *kāvya* on the tenth and eleventh chapters of the Bhāgavata and composed his work in Bengali for the good of the people (*loka nistārite*). Parameśvara Dās wrote the first Bengali Mahābhārata in the last decade of the 15th century in Chittagong. In the beginning he narrates that 'Laskar' Parāgal Khān, a feudatory chief of Sultan Hussain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.) of Gauḍa, came to Chittagong and used to listen gladly to the 'Purāṇas'. Once he asked Parameśvara to compose in Bengali the whole of the Mahābhārata in brief. The poet did it accordingly and was amply rewarded by his patron. Vijaya Gupta wrote a '*Manasā-mangal*' kāvya. He refers to Hussain Shah as a great ruler. We come to know that he was a resident of the village Phullaśrī, which had two rivers Ghāghar and Ghanteśvar on both sides, east and west, and that his parents were Rukmiṇī and Sanātana. Vipradāsa Piplāi wrote his '*Manasā-vijaya*' kāvya in 1495-96 A.D. He also praises Hussain Shah. Vipradāsa says that his father was Mukunda, a resident of the village Nadudyā Baṭagrām; they were four brothers in all. He also states that he belongs to Vātsya *gotra*, his *pravara* being Piplāya, and to the Kauṭhuma branch of the Sāmaveda. These autobiographical accounts have great historical value, especially with reference to the fact that the Muslim rulers and their officers were patrons of Bengali literature and learning.

This process of giving autobiographical account can be traced in *kāvyas* in all major languages of Northern India. We may mention, for instance, the names of Mādhava Kandalī and Śaṅkara Deva in Assamese; Balarāma Dāsa, Sāralā Dāsa, Pītāmbara Dāsa in Oriyā; Sarasvatī in Marathi; and Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī in Avadhi. Mādhava Kandalī and Śaṅkara Deva belonged to the sixteenth century. At the end of Laṅkā-Kāṇḍa and Kiśkindhyā Kāṇḍa Mādhava gives scanty information about himself, but Śaṅkara Deva gives elaborate details. Śaṅkara Deva states that on the bank of the 'Lauhitya' there was a village Baḍaḍobā whose proprietor was Rājyeśvara. He had three sons, Sūryavara, Jayanta and Mādhava. The eldest Sūryavara was an employee of the 'Barāha' King. He had a 'famous' son Kusuma by name. Śaṅkara was born to him and turned a devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Sāralā Dāsa gives the name of his native village as Kanakapura and that of his elder brother as Paraśurāma. He

also introduces himself as 'Śūdra-muni' and states that he received orders from Śrī Sāralācaṇḍī to write his Mahābhārata. Balarāma Dāsa, the earliest poet of the Oriyā Rāmāyaṇa, writes that his father Somanātha was a 'Mahāpātra' or minister, his mother was Manomayā. Pītāmbara Dāsa, in his 'Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa', writes that his grandfather Dvija Lakśmīdhara was a devout Vaiṣṇava. His eldest son (Pītāmbara's father) Bāluṅkeśvara was a 'Vaidik' pundit but a Vaiṣṇava devotee.

Sarasvatī, a renowned poet of the 16th century in Marathi in the beginning of his '*Sadguru-carita*' gives a detailed account of his ancestors, his parents, his faith and religion. He says that he belonged to the Āpastamba branch, his *gotra* was Kauṇḍiṇya, surname being Sākhare. His father was Gaṅgādhara, his grand-father Devarāya, his great-grandfather Nāganātha. His mother was Campā by name. She belonged to the Āsvalāyana branch, her *gotra* being Kāśyapa. The poet was a disciple of Sadguru.

Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī in his '*Padumāvat*', written in Avadhi (Hindi), gives a long account of his guru and his religious faith. We come to know from his statement that he was an inhabitant of 'Jāyasa', his guru was Sayyad Mahiuddin. He learnt Rhetoric and Prosody from Hindu pundits. He pays great tribute to Sher Shah, the Pathan ruler, whose patronage he received. He belonged to the Cisti Nijamuddin Sect. He says that Sayyad Asraf lighted his life as a lamp and showed him his way of deliverance. He gives the date of composition of his poem as 947 year of the Hijra and proudly proclaims that he wrote it in the language of the people.

Now from what time are we to trace the tradition of giving autobiographical accounts? The Vedas are known as '*apáuruṣeya*'. Though the hymns are referred to particular *ṛṣis*, they are only '*mantradraṣṭṛ*' or seers, not supposed to be responsible for the contents or thoughts of the mantras. In later days from the Sūtra period the grouping began. The *Bṛhaddevatā* of Śaunaka gives the following direction:

> *aviditvā ṛṣim chando daivataṁ yoga eva ca/*
> *yo 'dhyāpayej japedvāpi papīyañjayate tu saḥ //*

This speaks of a practice of associating the name of the seers with each of the hymns so composed. We have to leave the Vedas in search of autobiographical history.

The *prastāvanā* (*prarocanā*) section of the Sanskrit drama is of much value so far as the personal life of the dramatist is concerned. This was the accepted means of introducing himself before the Sāmājikas assembled.

The dramatists, the poets and other intellectuals in those days were patronised by royal courts. In the Prologue of the dramas there is generally a mention of respective patrons. Nothing is known of Bhāsa's personal life who preceded Kālidāsa. 'The historical discussion, again, regarding the identity of Bhāsa's patron alleged to have been mentioned in the word 'rājasiṁha' of the Bharata - vākya is shown to be of a very doubtful value. The first difficulty is the absence of the name of the author in the prologues and colophons of all the thirteen plays.' Kālidāsa is silent about his own life barring a mention of his predecessors Bhāsa, Somilla, Kaviputra in the prologue of the *Mālavikāgnimitram*. Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* contains an account of the dramatist, but it cannot be treated as genuine, since it includes *'rājānam vīkṣya putram paramasamudayenāśvamedhena ceṣṭvā labdhvā cāyuḥ śatābdam daśa - dinasahitam śūdrako 'gnim praviṣṭaḥ'* which must be a later addition.

Bhavabhūti is the first dramatist who gives a detailed autobiographical account in his dramas. The account is scantiest in his *Uttara°* and fullest in the *Mahāvīra°*. Bhavabhūti writes that there lived in the town of Padmapura in Deccan a pious and learned Brahmin family of the Kāśyapa *gotra* who followed and taught the Taittirīya branch of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, duly maintained the Five fires, performed Soma sacrifices, bore the surname of Uḍumbara. Bhavabhūti was fifth in descent from one who was called 'Mahākavi' and who performed the Vājapeya sacrifice; and his grand - father was Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, his father Nīlakaṇṭha and his mother Jātakarṇī.

Viśākhadatta, Harṣa, Murāri, and Rājaśekhara also give their own accounts. Viśākhadatta describes himself as the son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta (or Pṛthu) and grandson of Sāmanta Vaṭeśvaradatta. Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda* have almost the verbatim repetition of the same Prologue - stanza, full of self - praise, viz., *'śrī - harṣo nipuṇaḥ kaviḥ pariṣadapyeṣā guṇagrāhiṇī'*, etc.

Rājaśekhara in his *Saṭṭaka*, *Karpūramañjarī*, gives an account of his wife Avantīsundarī. He describes her as 'the garland of the Cauhāṇa family' and the producer - in - charge of the drama. He also announces that he was the 'guru' of king Mahendrapāla. His *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* also bears personal references. We know that his father was Duhika, his mother Śīlavatī. He belonged to a family in which were born distinguished people like Śūrānanda, Tarala, Kavirāja and Akālajalada, the last named person being his grandfather. Murāri in his *Anargharāghava* tells us that he belonged to the Maudgalya *gotra*, his parents were Vardhamāna and Tantumatī.

Thus it is not illogical to suggest that this tradition was carried onwards by the poets of the mediaeval period. It happened not only in the prologues of the dramas, but the *kāvyas* and prose - writings are rich in personal history of the writers. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court - poet of king Harṣavardhana in the 7th century A.D., wrote two immortal works, *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*. In the first two and half ucchvāsas of *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa gives a long and interesting account of his ancestors and himself. Bāṇa says that he was a Brahmin of the Vātsyāyana *gotra*, his ancestry being traced to Vatsa, of whom a mythological account is given as the cousin of Sārasvata, son of Sarasvatī and Dadhīca. In the family was born Kuvera who was honoured by the Gupta kings, and whose youngest son was Pāśupata. Pāśupata's son was Arthapati and among the many sons of Arthapati, Citrabhānu was Bāṇa's father. After the death of his parents he, at the age of fourteen, left Prītikūṭa, his native village on the bank of the river Śoṇa, and *'deśāntarālokana - kautukakṣipta - hṛdaya'* wandered from place to place. Among his band of friends and associates, were 'Prākṛta - kavi', artist, magician, snake charmer, *mṛdaṅga* player, actor, 'gāndharvopādhyāya', not excluding the female dancers, Saṁvāhikā and Sairandhrī. After having visited many royal courts and *'gurukulas'* and discussed the *śāstras* with the learned pundits, he returned home. He was summoned to the presence of king Harṣa who called him a *'bhujaṅga'* or mis-spent youth. Bāṇa retorted saying that he belonged to the Somapāyin Brahmin family, had gone through the Upanayana rituals, had learnt the vedas, had turned a *gṛhastha* by marriage—and his was not a mis-spent youth. It is not improbable that Bhavabhūti was influenced by Bāṇa in giving detailed personal history in his *Mahāvīra - carita*. Kahlaṇa and Bihlaṇa were certainly influenced by Bāṇa's *Harṣa - carita*. All the historical *kāvyas* written after Bāṇa's *Harṣa - carita* bear proof of this statement. *Nava - śāhasāṅka - carita* of *Padmagupta, Vikramāṅkadeva - carita* by Bihlaṇa, *Kumarapāla - carita* of Hemacandra, *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja, *Rāma - carita* of Sandhyākara Nandin, all follow in the footsteps of Bāṇa. Of the poets stated above, special mention should be made of Kahlaṇa and Bihlaṇa. The *Rājataraṅginī* is the only proper 'historical *kāvya*' in Sanskrit literature, and it gives the personal history of the author as well as the political history of Kashmir. In *Vikramāṅkadeva - carita* the whole of the last canto (canto xviii) is devoted to the history of the poet. Vākpatirāja, while composing *'praśasti'* of his patron Yaśovarman of Kanauja, speaks of himself in eight *ślokas* (from 797 to 804).

Sandhyākara Nandin's *Rāma - carita* is modelled on the so - called 'historical *kāvyas*'. Written in *āryā* verses the *kāvya* is a remarkable one for its employment of *śleṣa*, and each *śloka* has a twofold application : the Rāmāyaṇa story on the one hand and the story of Rāmapāla on the other. There is a *'kavi - praśasti'* at the end of his work which informs us that his

native place was Bṛhadvaṭu and Puṇḍravardhana; he was the son of Prajāpati Nandin and grandson of Pināka Nandin. Prajāpati was a *sāndhi-vigrahika* of the royal court of Rāmapāla and from the last verse of the text it is probable that the work was completed in the reign of Madanapāla (1120 - 1155), son of Rāmapāla and third in succession from him. The poet calls himself *'kalikāla - vālmīki'*, well versed in the art of rhetoric and also a great linguist. But Sandhyākara Nandin cannot claim to be the pioneer poet in Bengal, in the matter of giving auto - biographical details. The credit goes to Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa who is the author of *'Nyāyakandalī'*, commentary of Praśastapāda's *Padārtha - dharma - saṁgraha'*, a commentary on the *Vaiśeṣika - Sūtra*. From the concluding verses of this work we learn that Śrīdhara was the son of Baladeva and Abbokā and belonged to Bhuriśreṣṭhī in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha. The book was written at the instance of 'Pāṇḍudāsa' whom the poet describes as *'guṇa - ratnābharaṇa - kāyastha - kula - tilaka'*. The work is dated in Śaka 913 (or 910). Cakrapāṇidatta, the great scholar in Āyurveda, writes in his *Cikitsā - saṁgraha* that his father Nārāyaṇa was a 'Pātra' and 'Rasavatyādhikārin' (superintendent of the culinary department) of the king of Gauḍa, that he was a Kulīna of the Lodhrāvali family and that his brother Bhānu was *'Vidyākula-sampanna bhiṣagantaraṅga'*. Cakrapāṇi flourished during the middle of the 11th century.

Thus we can say that the process of giving a personal or ancestral history in mediaeval North Indian vernacular literature (especially Bengali literature) was inherited from classical Sanskrit literature.

The next topic to be discussed is *'bhaṇitā'*. The *ātmaparicaya* was generally given in narrative and descriptive poetry, whereas the *bhaṇitā* was attached to songs and lyrics. The *bhaṇitā* is also autobiographical to some extent. Though very short it speaks of the preceptor, the patron, the parents, creeds and faiths of the poet. It is a common feature in all the vernacular literatures of Northern India in the mediaeval period. The word is not Sanskritic in its origin nor a derived one. Its source is to be sought in vernacular songs.

We know that songs in Sanskrit dramas, as in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna - śākuntalam* and *Vikramorvaśīyam* and Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*, are Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa. Similarly, the Dohās of Buddhist and Jaina Sahajiyas, the 'Caryāgīti' and 'Pāhuḍa Doha' do not follow the classical Sanskrit pattern. The Caryās are all songs, poems set to music. The Dohās and the Caryās have their origin in vernacular poetry and songs. It is an accepted theory that our classical music had been much enriched by folk tunes. In people's life labour and rhythm go hand in hand. Occupation and Music (*gīta, vādya, nṛtya*) formed a union in earlier days in the life

of the people. The *bhaṇitā* was first introduced in songs where the composer - singer practically gave an oral - print of his authorship on the body of his lyric.

In *Gāhā - satta - saī* we find a named couplet of Hāla but other poems remain un - named. Later commentators however refer to particular names as authors of a few poets. In the Dohās we find the name of the poet generally in the concluding line. For instance the following Dohā may be cited :

gharem acchai vāhire pucchai
pai dekkhai paḍivesi pucchai.
saraha bhaṇai vaḍha jānau appā
nau so dhea na dhārana jappā.

The rhymed couplets of '*Pāhuḍa doha*' bear the name of Muni Rāmsingh. The Caryā songs were composed between the eleventh and the thirteenth century A.D.. The *bhaṇitā* in the Caryā songs has different characteristics. In a few songs there are references to caste and occupation of the poet as Dombī, Tantrī or Tillo ; in some cases pseudonyms have been used as Tāḍaka, '*Sākhi Kariba Jālandhari pāe*'. So far as Kukkura - pā and Dhendhana - pā are concerned, it may be that these two names are not of the poets themselves. The word '*pā*' signifies that the poets prefer to remain anonymous and they refer to their *gurus*. In the tenth Caryā the poet Kahṇa (Kṛṣṇācārya) says that he turns out to be a '*kāpāli,*' and this is a proof that Sahajiya - panth and Kāpālika - panth were inter - mixed. However we are not going here to analyse the sociological aspect of the caryās. The *bhaṇitā* given in the concluding line is found in twenty - four songs. In fourteen cases the *bhaṇitā* is being marked in the concluding line as well as in the '*dhruvapada*' in the beginning of the songs. The *bhaṇitā* occurs only in the '*dhruvapada*' in nine cases. In '*Prākṛta - piṅgala*', a book on metrics, there are passages in which the name of Piṅgala is inserted as *bhaṇitā*, e.g., '*piṅgala bhana uvajaïhi kijjasu*', '*piṅgala kahai*', '*piṅgala bhāsai*'.

Now our contention is that the process of inserting the poet's name in a verse comes from vernacular songs and not from Classical Sanskrit Kāvya ; and that this *bhaṇitā* found its place in later Sanskrit poetry. The Kavīndra - vacana - samuccaya is the earliest anthology of Sanskrit poetry, compiled in the first part of the twelfth century. F. W. THOMAS who edited the book gives a hint that in six of the verses there are 'śliṣṭa - bhaṇitās' of the poets. For example, in one verse there is '*śrī - nārāyaṇayorghanaṁ vighaṭayadyūṣma samālinganam*' and the authorship of the *śloka* goes to a female poet 'Nārāyaṇa - lakṣmī', the words '*śrī - nārāyaṇayoḥ*' is a *śliṣṭa bhaṇitā*. There are 'pseudonyms' in some verses as Taḍāga, Mārjāra, Vikaṭanitambā etc.

We are inclined to point it out that this happened as a direct influence of vernacular poetry. The most important poet of the 12th century, Jayadeva, had the bold imagination of accepting the literary form, material, structure and musical pattern of the vernacular poetry and giving them a shape suited to the literature of a royal court. Jayadeva proposes to write a Mahākāvya in *sargas* but actually the *Gīta - govinda* is a *gīti - nāṭya*. At the conclusion of each *sarga* Jayadeva puts his name in a rhymed couplet :

(1) *varṇitaṁ jayadevakena harer idaṁ pravaṇena*
kendubilva - samudra - sambhava - rohiṇī - ramaṇena//

(2) *harir iti harir iti japati sakāmaṁ /*
viraha - vihita - maraṇeva nikāmaṁ //
śrī - jayadeva - bhaṇitaṁ iti gītaṁ /
sukhayatu keśava - padam upanītaṁ //

(3) *vāgdevatā - carita - citrita - citta - sadma / .*
padmāvatī - caraṇa - cāraṇa - cakravartī /
śrī - vāsudeva - rati - keli - kathā - sametam /
etaṁ karoti jayadeva - kaviḥ prabandhaṁ //

The poet informs us that he was a resident of Kendubilva, that his wife was Padmāvatī to whom he was much devoted. In some editions of the *Gīta - govinda*, at the end of the *Kāvya*, we get the autobiographical *śloka*, which says that his parents were Bhojadeva and Vāmādevī and his dear friends were Parāśara and others who used to sing his songs. In Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadha - carita* there are epilogue - stanzas at the end of each canto, giving personal details about the author and his works. Although the poet's authorship of these stanzas is doubtful, they probably embody a genuine tradition.

The *bhaṇitā* is present in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and all the other New Indo - Aryan literatures in the mediaeval period. A few examples may be quoted here :

Bengali : (1) dhāmālī bulité kāhṇe nā dihalī āśa /
Bāśalī śire bandi gāila Caṇḍidāsa //

(2) Caṇḍidāsa kay nava - paricay /
Kāliyā - bandhur sane //

(3) Papa parāṇa āna nāhi jānata /
kānu kānu kari jhura //
Vidyāpati kaha nikaruṇa mādhava /
Govinda - dāsa rasapura //

(4) Śrī - Rūpa - Raghunāth - pade yār āśa //
Caitanya - caritāmṛta kahe Kṛṣṇadās //

Hindi : (1) Ucistha canda chaṁdaha vayana
Sunata jampiya nāri /
tanu pavitra pāvana kariyā
ukati anūṭha udhāri //

(2) Sāvan bhādô bahut calat hai
māgh pūs mé thorī /
Amīr khusro yô kahe tū
būjh pahelī morī //

(3) Janamata choṭ marata hī choṭi /
kahai Kavīr Hari ki nirmal joti //

Marathi : (1) Sampale granthace uttarārdha
je nijabodhace prameya visuddha
mhaṇe rājayogī prasiddha
Mukunda rāju //

(2) Nāmā mhaṇe yāni tārile patitā /
Bhakti keli khyātā Jnānadeve //

(3) Tukā mhaṇe jarī agni jvāla sādhu /
Tarī pāve bādhū Saṁgaṭṭhaṇe. //

Gujrati : (1) Bhaṇe Narasaiṅyo nita neha te navanava
jauhāvre Govinda guṇani Samādhi /
shuṅ jāne Brahmā sura snehani Vāratā
bharyo adhikāranī ādhivyādhi //

(2) Mana mārun moḍidere atakyuṅ
pele pītāmbara paṭake /
Narasaichā Svāminī saṇge ramatāṅ
rasa vādhyo chaṭake //

Maithili : (1) Sumati Umāpati bhaṇa paramāne /
Māhesaridei hindūpati jāne //

(2) Vidyāpati kavi gāola re
bhūjhae rasamanta /
Devasiṁha nṛpa nāgar re
Hāsinīdevi Kanta //

(3) Bhaṇai Vidyāpati sunabara jauvati
Save khana na karia māne/
Rājā Śivasiṁha Rūpanārāena
Lakhimādevī ramāṇe //

Rajasthani, Assamese and Oriya poetry also follow the same line of introducing *bhaṇitā.*

In this connection it should be mentioned that in descriptive and narrative poetry also the *bhaṇitā* is given by the poets at the end of chapter or *'pālā'*.

The last topic of our discussion is *'puṣpikā'*. The word may be derived as the feminine form of *'puṣpaka'* but it has no connection with *'puṣpa'* (flower). The *Śabdakalpadruma* of Rādhākānta Deva gives the meaning as *'adhyāyānte tat-pratipāditoktiḥ'*. In Apte's dictionary *'puṣpikā'* is defined as 'the last words of a chapter which state the subject treated therein, and the illustration is given as: *'iti śrī-mahābhārate śata-sāhasryām samhitāyām vana-parvaṇi...amuko'dhyāyaḥ'*. But in mediaeval Bengali literature it carries a different meaning. It often mentions the name, address, parentage, patronage of the copyist of the manuscript. In those days, when printing was not in vogue the manuscripts were valuable treasures for its owners. From Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra's *Citracampū* we come to know that during the 'Bargi' (Marhatta) troubles in Bengal in the 18th century, "the people were fleeing with their children, taking with them the images of their tutelary deities as well as loads of manuscripts which they considered to be their most valued possession". Well-to-do people in those days often prepared a good number of copies of a particular work through professional and trained copyists. Besides, the troupe singers had to preserve copies of original Jātrāpālā (quasi-dramatic work); the gāyens (singers other than the poets) also made numerous copies. The copyists were generally apologetic about errors that might have been committed in their copies. So we find imprecatory verses at the end of manuscripts. The most popular of these is:

yaddṛṣṭaṁ tallikhitaṁ lekhake nāsti doṣakaḥ /
bhīmasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo munīnāṁ ca matibhramaḥ //

Vulgar insinuations are made about the birth and parentage of people who would steal the manuscript:

yatnena likhitaṁ cedaṁ yaś corayati pustakaṁ /
sūkarī tasya mātā ca pitā tasya ca gardabhaḥ//

In numerous occasions these passages often turn to obscenity. The copyists in the concluding line often give autobiographical accounts along with socio-economic information. A few illustrations will help in explaining the point:

1. "The copying of *Aśvamedha-parvan* (in Bengali) is completed on the second day of the month of Baiśākha, B. S. 1262, Sunday, on the

Rāmnavamī Tithi at about 4 p.m. This copying is made at the instance of Śrī - Dīnanātha - Goswamī, resident of Belā . Ṭhākur Bāṭi, by Śrīnātha Canda. One who steals this manuscript will commit the sin of *mātṛ-haraṇa* ; others who take the book for the purpose of reading but do not return it to the owner will commit the sin of *gurupatnī - haraṇa.*"

2. "This pālā of the battle of Lava - Kuśa is hereby being copied by Premcānd Ghoṣ of the village Jhyānyā. The employer is Śrījukta Jivancandra Ghoṣ. The copying is completed on Tuesday, the fifteenth day of Srāvaṇā of 1272 B. S. at one prahar (the first quarter of the day). This year the cultivation is poor .... there has been a bumper crop in sugarcane .... the rice crop of Pauṣ is meagre .... cotton sells at fourteen *pauyas* a tanka (rupee) .."

There are also passages in which references to historical facts and events are given.

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PECULIARITIES IN THE ALAMKĀRA-SECTION OF THE AGNI-PURĀṆA

By

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The Alaṁkāra-section of the encyclopaedic *Agni-purāṇa* is an eclectic compilation. It culls its materials from various sources and has hardly any outstanding theoretical contribution of its own. It touches upon the teachings of almost all the earlier schools of Alaṁkāra, but does not follow in its general standpoint the tenets of any particular school. It deals with almost all the aspects of poetry, individually elaborated by previous theories, viz., *rasa, rīti, alaṁkāra, guṇa* and *doṣa*, borrowing ideas, wordings and even entire verses; but its treatment is often uncritical and occasionally unintelligible. In spite of its lack of originality and systematic theory, however, it is worth mentioning that the Purāṇa betrays some peculiarities which distinguish it from the established systems of Alaṁkāra.

The *Agni-purāṇa* is the first known treatise in the history of Sanskrit Poetics to draw a line of demarcation between the *kāvya* on the one hand and the *śāstra* and the *itihāsa* on the other. The Purāṇa, no doubt, draws upon the Rīti School (Daṇḍin and Vāmana) for its general definition of poetry; but it exhibits some peculiarity even in this respect. Daṇḍin and Vāmana do not speak of the sentence being the constituent of poetry, although Daṇḍin holds that the word element in poetry is entitled to prior consideration. The Purāṇa is the earliest work to consider the sentence as constituting poetry, and is followed by Rājaśekhara, Viśvanātha and Keśavamiśra, in this respect, although its definition of the sentence is identical word for word with Daṇḍin's definition of the body of poetry. On the classification of the *kāvya*, again, the *Agni-purāṇa* seems to follow a somewhat different tradition. The Purāṇa undoubtedly bases on Vāmana its division of the prose into the *cūrṇaka*, the *utkalikā* and the *vṛttagandhi*; but it departs from earlier schools with regard to its second classification of the prose *kāvya*, according to which the prose composition is divided into five kinds, namely, *ākhyāyikā, kathā, khaṇḍa-kathā, parikathā* and *kathānikā*. Of these, the first two varieties only are treated by previous writers, namely, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa. But even in the definitions of these two classes, which are mainly taken from the earlier authorities, the Purāṇa presents some characteristics which are not found

in the older rhetoricians. It is probable, therefore, that the Purāṇa derives these additional features of the *ākhyāyikā* and the *kathā*, along with the characteristics of three other kinds of prose *kāvya*, from a different source. The division of metrical poetry into seven varieties, namely, *mahākāvya, kalāpa, paryābandha, viśeṣaka, muktaka, kulaka* and *koṣa*, constitutes another distinguishing feature of the *ālaṁkārika* tradition followed by the *Agni - purāṇa*. It is a fact that Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa deal with the *Mahākāvya* and the Purāṇa probably borrows its definition from them, but it effects some notable change in the definition. The Purāṇa's *kalāpa, paryābandha* and *viśeṣaka* are not at all traceable to any previous known author. The *Agni - purāṇa* gives a separate definition of each of the *Mahākāvya*, the *Muktaka*, the *Kulaka* and the *Koṣa* perhaps in pursuance of a tradition which must be distinguished from that of Daṇḍin who defines the *Mahākāvya* only and includes the *muktaka*, the *kulaka* and the *kośa* in it. Some peculiarity of the Purāṇa's tradition is also noticeable in its definition of mixed poetry and the classification of this into the *vapu* and the *prakīrṇa*.

The treatment of Dramaturgy along with Poetics is another important characteristic in which the Purāṇa - tradition appears to differ from that of the previous established writers on Poetics. No earlier orthodox Ālaṁkārika includes the topic of Dramaturgy in Poetics, although they mention the drama as a variety of poetry. The Purāṇa may have Bharata in view, but, while Dramaturgy constitutes his main topic, Poetics forms the principal theme of the *Agni - purāṇa*. The Purāṇa draws upon Bharata for its materials no doubt, but it also departs from him in some important respects. Bharata gives ten varieties of the drama, usually known as *rūpakas*, namely, *nāṭaka, prakaraṇa, aṅka, vyāyoga, bhāṇa, samavakāra, vīthī, prahasana, ḍima* and *īhāmṛga*. The *Agni - purāṇa* enumerates, besides mentioning those kinds in a slightly different order, seventeen other varieties, generally regarded as *uparūpakas*, namely, *toṭaka, nāṭikā, sāṭaka, śilpaka, karṇā - eka* (?), *durmallikā, prasthāna, bhāṇikā, bhāṇī, goṣṭhī, hallīśaka, kāvya, śrī - gadita, naṭyā - rāsaka, rāsaka, ullyopyaka* and *prekṣaṇa*. Bharata treats of the *nāṭikā* or *nāṭī* only, but he says nothing about the rest which appear to have been borrowed from a different source. The Purāṇa differs from Bharata in other features also. It is not only the first and only known work to discuss the two - fold characteristic of the drama, viz., *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa*, but it also refers for the first time to the thirty - two components of the *pūrva - raṅga* beginning with the *nāndī*. The Purāṇa also departs from Bharata in respect of the name of the stage - manager who praises the poet, his work, etc. : Bharata calls him the *sthāpaka*, while the *Agni - purāṇa* gives his name as the *sūtradhāra*. The Purāṇa's remark that the news of creation etc. in some portion of the drama is not a defect is also untraceable in Bharata.

The *Agni - purāṇa* betrays some peculiarity in the matter of the treatment of *rasa* as well. It presents a somewhat peculiar idea of the origin of *rasa* and formulates a pseudo - philosophical *ahaṁkāra - abhimāna* theory, adopted later with some modification by Bhoja. The Purāṇa generally follows Bharata in its treatment of individual *rasas, sthāyins, vyabhicārins* and *sāttvikas*, but it also sometimes deviates from him with regard to the number, the order, the definition and the nomenclature of these. To the eight orthodox *rasas* of Bharata, namely, *śṛṅgāra, hāsya, karuṇa, raudra, vīra, bhayānaka, bībhatsa* and *adbhuta*, the Purāṇa adds *śānta* as the ninth sentiment. This rasa, however, is not untraceable in previous writers: Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, and Rudrabhaṭṭa mention it and the Purāṇa is obviously indebted to them. The *Agni - purāṇa* omits *nidrā, supta* and *maraṇa* from Bharata's list of thirty - three *vyabhicārins*; and the Purāṇa's definition of *trāsa* is different from that of Bharata. The *Agni - purāṇa* is the earliest available work to connect the *sāttvika - bhāva* with the *sattva - guṇa* of Sāṁkhya philosophers. The two varieties of the *vibhāva* maintained by the Purāṇa, namely, *ālambana* and *uddīpana*, are not found in Bharata or any other previous writer of the Rasa School, although the *Agni - purāṇa's* etymological definition of the *vibhāva* is taken from Bharata. The Purāna's definition of the *anubhāva* is peculiar, being different from that of the earlier established writers: and more peculiar is its classification of the same into four kinds, viz., *mana - ārambha, vāgārambha, buddhyārambha* and *śarīrārambha*, each of which is treated in full. The *Agni - purāṇa* divides the *mana - ārambhānubhāva* into two classes according as it relates to men and women. Under the first group, it enumerates eight kinds, namely, *śobhā, vilāsa, mādhurya, sthairya, gāmbhīrya, lālitya, audārya* and *tejas*, while it mentions twelve embellishments under the second classification, viz., *bhāva, hāva, helā, śobhā, kānti, dīpti, mādhurya, dhairya, prāgalbhya, udāratā, sthairya* and *gambhīratā*. Bharata maintains these varieties, but he does not recognise them as *anubhāvas* in the same way as the Purāṇa does. He treats the Purāṇa's sub - divisions of the first classification of the *mana - ārambhānubhāva* as the qualities of men under *sāmānyābhinaya*, whereas the first ten of the second group are discussed by him as the *alaṁkāras* of women and the last two as the excellences of men. Similarly the *Agni - purāṇa* borrows from Bharata twelve *vāgārambhānubhāvas*, namely, *ālāpa, pralāpa, vilāpa, anulāpa, saṁlāpa, apalāpa, saṁdeśa, nirdeśa, atideśa, apadeśa, upadeśa* and *vyapadeśaka*. But, while according to Bharata they are the twelve *mārgas* of *vākyābhinaya*, the Purāṇa gives them in a slightly different order as *anubhāvas* arising from each. The *Agni - purāṇa's* divergence from Bharata is not difficult to explain, if, having regard to its essentially derivative nature, we hold that it follows an altogether different line of speculation. The *Agni - purāṇa's* classification of the *buddhyārambhānubhāva* also appears to be without precedent. In dividing this into three classes,

riti, *vṛtti* and *pravṛtti*, the Purāṇa seems to adopt the indication of Bharata, who considers *alaṁkāras*, *guṇas* and *doṣas* as constituting *vāgabhinaya* and also the *anubhāva* in so far as they call forth *rasa*. But Bharata does not treat of *rīti* anywhere, nor does he deal with *vṛtti* and *pravṛtti* as varieties of the *anubhāva*.

The Agni-purāṇa's treatment of *rīti* varies from that of the exponents of the Rīti School. Daṇḍin speaks of the manifold diction of composition, but gives only two varieties, *Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍa*. Vāmana discusses three kinds of *rīti*, namely, *Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍī* and *Pāñcālī*. The Purāṇa, on the other hand, admits four *rītis* after Rudraṭa, namely, *Pāñcālī*, *Gauḍadeśīyā*, *Vaidarbhī* and *Lāṭajā*. But, while Rudraṭa's individual *Rītis* are distinguished from one another by the length, shortness or absence of compounds, the *Agni-purāṇa* adds to these metaphorical expression and softness. The Purāṇa generally follows Bharata in the matter of dramatic *vṛttis*, but even in this respect it shows some notable difference which forms another distinguishing feature of its tradition. The *Agni-purāṇa* obviously borrows, with slight change in the order of enumeration, Bharata's four kinds of *vṛtti*, viz., *Bhāratī*, *Ārabhaṭī*, *Kaiśikī* and *Sāttvatī*. But the Purāṇa deviates to a large extent from Bharata with regard to the definition of the *Bhāratī vṛtti*. According to Bharata, the *Bhāratī* should be prominent with speech, should consist of actions of male characters but not of women and should contain Sanskrit sentences, while the Purāṇa says that it abounds in speech, consists generally of actions of men but also of women and contains Prakrit expressions. Some difference between the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bharata is also seen in the enumeration of varieties of *vīthī*, one of the components of the *Bhāratī*. The *Agni-purāṇa* gives the sub-divisions as follows: *udghātaka*, *avalagita*, *asat-pralāpa*, *vāg-veṇī*, *nālikā*, *vipaṇa*, *vyāhāra*, *tri-mata*, *chala*, *avasyandita*, *gaṇḍa*, *mṛdava* and *añcita*. Bharata presents them thus: *udghātyaka*, *avalagita*, *avasyandita*, *asat-pralāpa*, *prapañca*, *nālikā*, *vāk-keli*, *adhibala*, *chala*, *vyāhāra*, *mṛdava*, *tri-gata* and *gaṇḍa*. Thus the Purāṇa not only violates the order of enumeration of the classes of the *vīthī* in Bharata, but it also substitutes *añcita*, *vāg-veṇī* and *vipaṇa* for his *prapañca*, *vāk-keli* and *adhibala*, while its *tri-mata* stands for his *tri-gata* (which, however, may be a mislection). Moreover, Bharata treats these varieties in connection with the particular type of drama known as the *vīthī*, whereas the Purāṇa gives them in the context of the *Bhāratī vṛtti*, of which the *vīthī* is a class. Again, the *Agni-purāṇa's* last kind of *anubhāva*, viz., *śarīrārambha*, is the same as the *āṅgikābhinaya* of Bharata on whose views the treatment appears to be based; but Bharata nowhere employs the term *śarīrārambhānubhāva*. Besides, some constituents of the Purāṇa's *śarīrārambhānubhāva*, namely, *krīḍita* and *keli*, and the ninefold movement of sigh and the sixfold gesture of the face, are not trace-

able in Bharata or any other previous known writer. It should, however, be noted in this place that the Purāṇa itself equates *vācikābhinaya*, *āṅgikābhinaya*, and *āhāryābhinaya* with the *vāgārambhānubhāva*, the *śarīrārambhānubhāva* and the *buddhyārambhānubhāva* respectively. The *Agni - purāṇa's* treatment of different sentiments and their sub - divisions is chiefly modelled on Bharata and Rudraṭa ; but here also there are some notable points of difference. Thus, while Bharata and Rudraṭa do not speak of any sub - division of *sambhoga - śṛṅgāra*, the Purāṇa says that it consists of four kinds. The Purāṇa's remark that all *sāttvika - bhāvas*, with the exception of the change of colour and fainting, characterise *sambhoga - śṛṅgāra* is also not found in any earlier *rasa*-writer, nor is traceable in any previous work its contention that the erotic sentiment is enhanced by *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, even though Bharata refers to *tri - śṛṅgāra* in his definition of the *samavakāra*. Further, the *Agni - purāṇa's* definition of the last two classes of *hāsa*, namely, *apahasita and atihasita*, do not agree with those of Bharata. According to the Purāṇa, *apahasita* is produced with sound and *atihasita* is soundless ; but Bharata does not say anything about sound in his definition of *apahasita*, while he specifically speaks of it in the case of *atihasita*. Further, the Purāṇa's statement that anger, perspiration, thrill and trembling promote the *raudra rasa* appears to have been taken from a different source, although both Bharata and Rudraṭa give anger as the permanent mood of the *raudra rasa*. Besides, the definition of the *bhayānaka rasa* presented by the *Agni - purāṇa* is not found in any earlier established writers.

Coming to the Purāṇa's *alaṁkāras*, we find that the Alaṁkāra School as represented by Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa does not exercise great influence on the Purāṇa. The *Agni - purāṇa* reproduces Daṇḍin's definition of poetic figures, but its three - fold classification of them according as they embellish word, sense and both is not found in any other previous writer. Vāmana first specifically distinguishes *śabdālaṁkāras* from *arthālaṁkāras*, and Rudraṭa follows in admitting these groups. But none of them mentions the third variety, viz., *śabdārthālaṁkāra*, which is found for the first time in the Purāṇa. The *Agni - purāṇa's* definition of *śabdālaṁkāra* cannot be traced back to any early writer. It gives nine classes of *śabdālaṁkāra*, namely, *chāyā*, *mudrā*, *ukti*, *yukti*, *gumphanā*, *vākovākya*, *anuprāsa*, *citra* and *duṣkara*, of which only *anuprāsa* is available in the previous writers of the established schools and *citra* is treated by Rudraṭa alone. The Purāṇa generally follows earlier Ālaṁkārikas in respect of *arthālaṁkāras* with slight differences ; but, while Vāmana makes no specific mention of the number of the varieties of *arthālaṁkāra* and Rudraṭa broadly classifies the same into four kinds, namely, *vāstava*, *aupamya*, *atiśaya* and *śleṣa*, the Purāṇa gives eight broad classes of it, namely, *svarūpa*, *sādṛśya*, *utprekṣā*, *atiśaya*, *vibhāvanā*, *virodha*, *hetu* and

sama. The *Agni-purāṇa* discusses six individual *ubhayālaṁkāras*, viz., *praśasti*, *kānti*, *aucitya*, *saṁkṣepa*, *yāvadarthatā* and *abhivyakti*, which are not traceable in any previous writer. The Purāṇa introduces the *śabda-vṛttis* of *mukhyā* and *aupacārikī* as the sub-divisions of *pāribhāṣikī* which, again, is a class of the *ubhayālaṁkāra abhivyakti*; but these are given by grammarians, logicians and Mīmāṁsakas as independent functions of word, and this constitutes another important feature of the tradition followed by the Purāṇa.

The *Agni-purāṇa's* treatment of *guṇas* does not in the same way strictly conform to that of the established orthodox schools. The earlier writers of the Alaṁkāra School do not differentiate between *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra*; the *Agni-purāṇa* does not clearly bring out the distinction between the two, but it assigns equal importance to the two concepts. The classification of Guṇa given by the Purāṇa is also unique. It divides *guṇa* into two varieties, namely, *sāmānya* and *vaiśeṣika*. The former is, again, classified into three kinds according as it pertains to word, sense and both. The division of *guṇa* into *sāmānya* and *vaiśeṣika* is without any precedent, although the classification into *śabda-guṇa*, *artha-guṇa* and *ubhaya-guṇa* may have been indicated by the treatment of *guṇa* by earlier writers. Bharata and Daṇḍin do not give any clear classification of this concept, even though from their definitions of the individual *guṇas* some of the *guṇas* can be interpreted as relating to word, some to sense, while others to both word and sense. The Purāṇa seems to follow Vāmana, who first distinctly classifies Guṇa into two kinds, *śabda-guṇa* and *artha-guṇa*; but it attempts to improve upon him by adding *ubhaya-guṇa* and departs from him regarding the number and sometimes the nomenclature of the individual *guṇas*. Vāmana gives the very ten excellences of Bharata and Daṇḍin, namely, *śleṣa*, *prasāda*, *samatā*, *samādhi*, *mādhurya*, *ojas*, *saukumārya*, *artha-vyakti*, *udāratā* and *kānti*, but he duplicates them by relating them to word and sense respectively. The Purāṇa's terminology of the nineteen individual *guṇas* of three sets is, on the other hand, altogether different, with the exception of *udāratā* which belongs both to word and sense. Of the seven śabda-guṇas treated by the *Agni-purāṇa*, namely, *śleṣa*, *lālitya*, *gāmbhīrya*, *saukumārya*, *udāratā*, *satī* and *yaugikī*, the names, if not the characteristics, of *śleṣa*, *saukumārya* and *udāratā*, only are already known. The remaining four are perhaps taken from a different source which also appears to induce the Purāṇa to give six kinds of *artha-guṇa*, namely, *mādhurya*, *saṁvidhāna*, *komalatva*, *udāratā*, *prauḍhi* and *sāmayikatva*. The same remarks apply to the *Agni-purāṇa's* treatment of the *ubhaya-guṇas*. The Purāṇa deals with six kinds of *ubhaya-guṇa*, viz. *prasāda*, *saubhāgya*, *yathā-saṁkhya*, *praśastatā*, *pāka* and *rāga*. Although the first three and the fifth varieties may have been suggested by earlier speculation, the other two are not treated by any

previous writer. It is worth noting in this connection that the Purāṇa is the first and only available work to regard *yathāsaṁkhya* as a *guṇa*, thereby deviating from the earlier authorities who consider it as an *alaṁkāra*.

The *Agni-purāṇa's* treatment of *doṣa*, which comes last, is generally based upon that of the earlier writers; but the Purāṇa's classification of this entity is, like that of *alaṁkāra* and *guṇa*, somewhat peculiar. Defining *doṣa* after Vāmana, the Purāṇa divides this broadly under seven heads according as it relates to the *vaktṛ*, *vācaka* and *vācya*, to any two of them and to all of them simultaneously. The *vaktṛ*, i.e. the poet, is again classified into four classes according as he is suspicious (*saṁdihāna*), immodest (*avinīta*), ignorant (*ajña*) and learned (*jñātṛ*). The *vācaka* in its turn is divided into two kinds, namely, *pada* and *vākya*, and the *vācya* also is said to consist of two classes according as it is *vyutpādita-pūrva* and *vyutpādya*. As we have already pointed out, this classification is not found in any other early writer, it is true that Vāmana and Rudraṭa deal with *vācaka-doṣas* and *vācya-doṣas*, but the treatment is somewhat different, and they do not expressly use the terms *vācaka-doṣa* and *vācya-doṣa*; Vāmana gives *pada-doṣas*, *padārtha-doṣas*, *vākya-doṣas* and *vākyārtha-doṣas*, while Rudraṭa deals with *pada-doṣas*, *vākya-doṣas* and *artha-doṣas*. The Purāṇa may have drawn upon these writers for its *vācaka-doṣas* and *vācya-doṣas*; but it departs from them regarding the number and sometimes the nomenclature of the individual *doṣas* characterised by them. The two varieties of the *vācya-doṣa* given by the Purāṇa, namely, *sādhāraṇa* and *prātisvika*, seem to be without any precedent. Moreover, the *Agni-purāṇa* ascribes to sense some defects which are assigned to word and sentence by previous writers, viz., *visaṁdhi*, and *punar-uktatā*. It gives *aprayuktatva* and *saṁśayitārthatā* as *pada-doṣas*, but Vāmana treats these as *vākyārtha-doṣas*. Further, it deals with some defects which are not found in any other early extant work on Poetics, viz., *kriyā-bhraṁśa*, *kāraka-bhraṁśa*, *vyasta-saṁbandhatā*, *chāndasatva*, *avispaṣṭatva*, *viparyastārthatā*. Besides, the Purāṇa brings under a specific category several defects, namely, *kaṣṭatva*, *grāmyatva*, *gūḍhārthatā*; but these are given as independent faults by orthodox writers.

Apart from the fundamentals, the *Agni-purāṇa* betrays some peculiarity with regard to minor details. It is the first known work to mention sound, letters, the inflected word and the sentence as the four constituents of speech. The two verses which are devoted by the Purāṇa to Kavi-vivakṣā are not found in any earlier orthodox writer. The *Agni-purāṇa's* seven varieties of *vṛtti*, namely *Karṇāṭī*, *Kauntalī*, *Kauntī*, *Kauṅkaṇī*, *Vānavāsikā*, *Drāviḍī* and *Māthurī*, which are named on a geographical basis and which are given in connection with *anuprāsa*, are not traceable

in previous authors. Lastly, the Purāṇa deals with the *kavi - samaya* and this treatment appears to be peculiar to the particular tradition of opinion to which *Agni - purāṇa* belongs.

What we have said above would indicate that the *Agni - purāṇa* appears to follow a tradition of opinion which is distinct in many respects from the accepted views of the earlier established schools of Sanskrit Poetics. It is true that the Purāṇa betrays unmistakable influence of the earlier orthodox lines of speculation and indiscriminately incorporates matters from most previous authors; but it does not conform in its general standpoint to the teachings of any of the earlier systems of thought. On the contrary, it differs from them in many notable features, some of which are doubtless peculiar to itself, but some must have been derived from the Alaṁkārika tradition presumably followed by it.

MUTUAL BORROWING IN INDO-ARYAN

By

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

In the study of the vocabulary of languages derived from the same source, the matter of their mutual borrowing of words and forms and turns of locution has a considerable importance and significance. After a language has split up within historical memory into a number of separate dialects, and when these dialects have become diversified from each other so far as to merit recognition as distinct languages, we frequently have, as a common phenomenon, a fairly large-scale borrowing of words from each other — words which have their ultimate common origin in the defunct source-language but which in the course of their development have obtained normal phonological and frequently also sematological distinction. Latin words following a particular line of development became transformed to French, and along another line of development the same series of words was transformed from Latin into Italian. In historical times, after Italian and French had become distinct well-established languages, there was mutual borrowing; and it is very easy from the phonetic structure of a word in French to say whether it is native French or a cousin-form taken over from Italian. The meaning also is frequently modified; and that is the reason why necessity is felt for borrowing a particular word from a sister-language, even though its cognate is already living and functioning in the language itself. The same Latin word *caballarius* became in French *chevalier*, but in Italian its form is *cavaliere*. In French, in addition to the native form, the Italian word has been borrowed as *cavalier*, but the distinction in meaning between these two words as they are used in French is quite clear. Similarly, among the Germanic languages there has been a good deal of mutual borrowing; and the lead of the German language, as being more advanced in scientific as well as in humanistic studies, has been followed by Dutch and the Scandinavian languages, and even occasionally by English, in building up new words with their own native Germanic materials, in the absence of a common Germanic literary speech of old and established provenance, like Latin, Greek or Sanskrit. Witness, for example, the Norwegian *Sprogvidenskaft*, which is apparently modelled on German *Sprachwissenschaft*, and the English *Sound-shift* which is a translation modelled on the original German *Lautverschiebung*. As a study of the loan-words in its language is an important means of our study of a people's culture,

the study of mutual loans within a particular linguistic group or area has a very great significance in the currents and cross-currents of culture as well as population movement within a nett and precisely circumscribed area.

The Aryan language has had an unbroken history of over 3000 years on the soil of India. This history has been conveniently divided into three periods, — Old Indo-Aryan, roughly from after 1500 B.C. to about 600 B.C.; Middle Indo-Aryan, from about 600 B.C. to about 1000 A.D.; and New Indo-Aryan, from after 1000 A.D. right down to the present day. The oldest specimens of the Indo-Aryan speech are to be found in the Vedas — particularly the Rig-Veda. Here we have what would appear to be a single form of speech, with a remarkable uniformity throughout the entire range of Vedic literature as in the *Saṁhitās*. Divergences and developments become more and more manifest as we progress down the centuries, roughly from 1000 B.C. onwards. At the end of the chain we have New Indo-Aryan, which has moved away very far indeed from the situation we find in the Rig-Veda. In New Indo-Aryan we have quite a large number of languages and dialects which have developed without let or hindrance along a hundred different lines or channels. As a result, we have languages, all coming ultimately from Vedic (or spoken Vedic, to be more precise), which have a common inheritance, but are sometimes absolutely unintelligible to each other. Thus Konkani and Assamese or Hindi and Oriya are not at all intelligible to each other. Yet it would be easy for a speaker of Assamese who knows the history of the development of his own language to appreciate the line of development taken by the same Old Indo-Aryan speech in its transformation to Konkani.

The normal development of the Aryan speech has gone on ever since the language became established in India. Scholars are agreed that the language of the Rig-Veda is really a literary dialect — a composite *Kunstsprache* or artistic speech, which has been built up on the basis of one kind of spoken dialect no doubt, but which has accepted words of other dialects also. Thus one might say that since the dialects began to show special characteristics and deviated from each other, if one of these dialects took up forms of another, we have a case of dialectal borrowing; and there can very well be mutual borrowing. The Vedic speech is based on the westernmost dialect of the Indo-Aryan speech as established in India — the dialect of Western Panjab. In this Old Indo-Aryan dialect, there was a preference for *r* — it does not seem to have tolerated the *l* sound at all. In this matter it agreed with its Western neighbour and sister the Iranian speech (as in Avestan and Old Persian as well as the later Pahlavi). There were two other dialects, in one of which *r* and *l* both occur side by side as distinct sounds of the language; and in the

other, contrary to the first dialect, there was no *r*, but only *l*. Then, again, probably this *l*-dialect developed cerebralisation, and already in the Vedic speech we have celebralised forms like *nikaṭa* and *kīkaṭa* as well as *taṭa* and *paṭh*, which were dialectal variations of *nikṛta*, **kiṅkṛta*, *tṛta*, *prath*. Doubtless there were new original nuances in meaning between *nikṛta* and *nikaṭa*; and as time went on, dialectal forms developed specialised meanings. Thus when classical Sanskrit took up a dialectal form from the East like *vaṭa*, it was because this dialectal form had developed specialised sense of the Banian tree from the generalised sense of the original form *vṛta* meaning "surrounded". The Banian tree, the stock of which is surrounded by its roots, which come down from the branches and surround the stock like pillars, can be very correctly and picturesquely described as "the surrounded one" (*vṛta—vaṭa*). In the Middle Indo-Aryan period, when the development of Prakrit was well on its way, local dialects became marked very notably throughout the Indo-Aryan tract. North and West India right up to the borders of Assam formed a vast plain land where movements of population always went on. The spoken forms of Aryan, which originally distinguished three (or four) dialects about the middle of the first millennium B.C. — an *Udīcya* or North-Western dialect (which was current in the present-day North-West Frontier Province and Western and Central Panjab), a *Madhya-deśīya* or Mid-land dialect (in Eastern Panjab and Western U.P.), and a *Prācya* or Eastern dialect (Oudh and Eastern U.P. and also Bihar), with possibly a *Dākṣiṇātya* or Southern speech (Central India to the South of Malwa, particularly Vidarbha or Berar) — became by about 500 A.D. further ramified into a number of nett regional dialects like those of the North-West and the Mid-land (*Śaurasenī*), of the Himalayan region (*Khasa*), of Eastern U.P. (*Ardha-Māgadhī*), of Bihar (*Māgadhī*) and of the South (*Māhārāṣṭrī*), beside, in all likelihood, a few more. Men and women were carrying on their daily avocations in the different dialectal areas in their native dialects. But everyone who was "educated" was studying Sanskrit. As and when necessary, and even to give a touch of elegance or a special force, in their speech or in their literary compositions in the regional Prakrit of their use, they would be bringing in Sanskrit words. These Sanskrit borrowings are very vital in considering the development of Indo-Aryan vocabulary through the centuries. It is generally ignored that in all the forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, beginning with the oldest of them as in the Asoka inscriptions and in Pali, there is a borrowed Sanskrit element, which frequently becomes modified in pronunciation, and modified along a different line from the phonological development of the inherited element. These modified Prakrit borrowings from Sanskrit are the not inconsiderable *semi-tatsama* element of Prakrit; and in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* and in other subsequent works I have touched upon

this point. Thus the Old Indo-Aryan *padma* becomes modified as *pomma*, and this *pomma* features in Prakrit. But the Sanskrit word *padma* itself was borrowed into Prakrit in the Middle Indo-Aryan stage, and in a modified pronunciation it became *paduma*, and *paduma* later was transformed into *pauma*. We have therefore to place *paduma - pauma* beside *pomma* as two words of different types: one a borrowing, and the other an inheritance.

These borrowings, as has been said before, became useful or necessary because of the slight nuances or shades of difference in meaning. The Sanskrit word *brāhmaṇa* somehow put out of use the proper Middle Indo-Aryan form *bamhaṇa* or *bambhaṇa* from Pali. In Asokan Prakrit we find also the form *babbhaṇa*, and in Modern Bihar *bāmhan, bābhan* and the exhalted *brāhmaṇ* are virtually different words with different meanings. Prakrit speakers found it convenient to interlard their Sanskrit with borrowings from their own spoken vernaculars, and these became in literary Sanskrit distinct words with special connotations. Thus Sanskrit *bhartar,* meaning originally "supporter", then "lord or master or husband", in the Eastern Prakrit became *bhaṭṭā;* and this gave the Sanskrit word *bhaṭṭa* with the specialised sense of "a learned Brahman to be respected as a lord or master", and an extension of it was *bhaṭṭāraka* which came to mean in Sanskrit "Liege - lord, or a Divinity". One of the original senses of the words, namely that of "husband", has been carried down to the New Indo-Aryan *bhâtār* through a Middle Indo-Aryan *bhatāra*. *Putta* "son", as a Prakrit modification of Old Indo-Aryan *putra,* was extended to *puttala,* meaning "little son", and was further modified to *puttalikā;* and this last word from Prakrit was borrowed by Sanskrit in the specialised sense of "a doll", as a child's word in caressing her doll. This *puttalikā* became well - established in Sanskrit and then was re - introduced into a New Indo-Aryan language like Bengali, where it is formed in the *tadbhava* form of *putul,* meaning "a doll". The continued and extensive borrowing of words from Sanskrit into the vernaculars, whether of ancient or mediaeval or modern India, together with similar borrowing of vernacular Prakrit words by Sanskrit, is one of the most notable characteristics in the history of Indo-Aryan.

Mutual borrowings among the Prakrits and their influencing each other in matters of Phonology, Morphology and Sematology are quite noteworthy. This matter has also been incidentally touched in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language.* We frequently find that the normal phonetic development in a particular dialect from Middle Indo - Aryan times onwards has been sort of interfered with by unexpected forms cropping up in the speech, and these new or peculiar forms go counter to the general line of phonetic development. These forms are really borrowings from some cognate Middle Indo-Aryan speech, and this process has continu-

ed right down to our day. The Māgadhī Prakrit form for the Sanskrit *kartavya,* as it occurs in the Asoka inscriptions, is *kaṭṭaviya,* and its normal development in Modern Bengali would have given us a form like **kāṭui.* But we have instead in Bengali the basic form *kariba,* which comes from Middle Indo-Aryan **kariabba,* and that is based on a *semi-tatsama* borrowing from Sanskrit like **karitavya.* The normal development of Sanskrit *dvādaśa,* which occurs in the Eastern Prakrit of Asoka, the ultimate source of Bengali, is *duvāḍasa.* This should have given the Bengali word for 12 as **duāṛas.* But instead we have *bāro,* and this *bāro* is based on a form from another speech than the Eastern one of Asoka, in which speech *dv* became a *b.* As I had suggested before, herein we note the silent yet very effective influence exerted by commercial communities in interfering with the normal development of speech in a particular area. As in later mediaeval and modern India, it would appear that in ancient times also, business people from the West-Saurāṣṭra and Mālava as well as from the West (the Panjab) were predominant in North, Central as well as Eastern India. Thus, for example, in the Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan speech of the Panjab, inter-vocal *s* or *ss* of early Prakrit became *h,* and that is why we have *dvādaśa* and *caturdaśa* changed to *bārah* and *caudah;* and in Panjab, the Sanskrit *viṁśa (ti)* became *wīh,* whereas its equivalent in Hindi (and Bengali) is *bīs* (*biś*). The word for "seventy" in Hindi and Bengali is *sattar,* which is phonologically not proper for either Hindi or Bengali; and the *s* is further changed to *h* in the other forms like Hindi *ikhattar, bāhattar, tihattar,* etc. These *h*-forms in the numerals evidently were due to the predominant commercial influence of business-men from the Panjab side — this was quite capable of introducing forms which were foreign to the dialects of people accepting them, as in the Mid-land and in the East. But in far-away Orissa, there was no great influence of these business-men who came from another dialectal area like the Panjab, and hence they have preserved the inter-vocal *s* in the forms for the numerals like *ekastari, bāstari* etc. In modern times, Marwari and other North Indian merchants from the West appear to be responsible for forms in Assamese like *bic, ekaic, bāic, satāic,* etc. (pronounced, *bis, ekois, bāis, xotāis* etc.), with the *s* sound pronounced as a full dental sibilant. The proper Assamese written forms would be *bis, ekais, bāis, satāis,* and these would have given the spoken forms like *bix, ekoix, bāix, xotāix.* The imposition of the *s* sound in these words for the numerals, and the expulsion of the normal *x* sound, are due to the introduction of the Hindi forms of the numerals within the orbit of business-transactions in Assam.

As a typical example of how these borrowings within the same linguistic family bring about nuances in meaning can be illustrated by the following five forms of the same word *kṛṣṇa* which occur in Bengali:

(i) The normal development of *kṛṣṇa* as an Old Indo-Aryan word has been to *kānha* in Old Bengali : *kānha* features in Old Bengali as a name only, and particularly as the name of the incarnation of Vishnu. In Middle Bengali, this form becomes *kāna*, and it occurs in Middle and Modern Bengali as a popular poetic name of Krishna, as the hero of the Vrindavan legends, in the forms of *kānu* and *kānāi* (with the addition of the affixes *-u* and *-āi*, to indicate pettiness and affection on the part of the speaker). This is its specialised sense in Modern Bengali, for the inherited *tadbhava* form.

(ii) A late Middle Indo-Aryan *semi-tatsama* form is found in Old Bengali : *kṛṣṇa—*krasaṇa—kasaṇa*, which means merely "black" in Old Bengali, as in the expression *kasana ghaṇa gājaï*—"the black cloud rumbles". This old *semi-tatsama* word *kasaṇa* is now obsolete in Modern Bengali.

(iii) Modern Bengali *keṣṭo* is the commonest form of the Sanskrit word *kṛṣṇa*. *Keṣṭo* is the common Bengali appellation of the Puranic hero Krishna, and of Krishna as a man's name. This is a later *semi-tatsama* borrowed in early Bengali times, and is based on the early Bengali pronunciation of the Sanskrit word as *kreṣṭon* (central *ṇ* being pronounced as *ṭ* with the vowel following nasalised).

(iv) *Kiṣaṇ* or *kiśan—this* is used with reference to an image of Krishna which is worshipped in a temple, and this occurs with the addition of the honorofic epithet *jīu — kiṣaṇjīu*. It is not used in any other sense. In Bengali, the word is just a borrowing from Hindi, as an early Hindi or Braj-bhasha *semi-tatsama* pronunciation of the Sanskrit word *kṛṣṇa*, as *krisana — kisan*.

(v) Finally, we have the Sanskrit word *kṛṣṇa* itself, which is use in Bengali as a pure *tatsama* word, although pronounced as *kriśno*, and it means (a) Krishna as the hero of the *Mahābhārata*, (b) Krishna as a man's name pronounced in a formal way, and (c) "black", as an ordinary elegant or learned modern word for the commoner word *kālo*.

Thus here we have slight nuances which are none the less necessary for the language, and these are indicated by the different types of borrowings with their distinctive phonetic characteristics.

The ordinary word for "a cheat, or fraud" in Bengali is *juācor*, which becomes in the colloquial of Calcutta *joccor*. In East Bengali dialects this would be pronounced as *dzuatsor*. But a Calcutta man would sometimes use the word *joccor* with an imitation of an East Bengal pronunciation, and in this way he uses a new pronunciation *zossor*, and thereby he implies an additional contempt for a man and his profession ; and generally this form with a dialectal phonetic borrowing indicates the habitual cheating propensities of a particular man. The common colloquial Bengali form

for the word *Oṛiyā* or *Uṛiyā*, "a man from Orissa", is *Uṛe*. But the use of this form *Uṛe* to describe a gentleman or a man of education hailing from Orissa, would give some offence, as it implies a suggestion of contempt, and careful speakers of Bengali would use the fuller literary form *Uṛiyā* in such a situation, even while speaking in the ordinary colloquial Bengali. Here an earlier form in the language is thought more proper, as it somehow implies greater politeness. So the extreme colloquial Bengali *mocormān* (=Musalman) will never be used when contempt or offence is to be avoided—people would take care to employ the fuller form *muśolmān*.

Borrowings from one Modern Indo-Aryan language into another present quite an interesting series of problems and their attempted solution. Sometimes it becomes fashionable to use a word from a particular area, as for example in the case of the Gujarati *taklī*, meaning "a spindle". The Sanskrit word is *takru*, and in Bengali we employ the form *ṭāku* or *ṭākuā* (in the Calcutta colloquial *ṭeko*). But all those who tried to follow Mahatma Gandhi in accepting the cult of the spinning wheel and the spindle would never use the good old Bengali word *ṭāku* or *ṭeko*—they would transform the Gujarati word *taklī* into Bengali as *tokli*, and use it in Bengali. Direct contact among speakers of New Indo - Aryan is possible generally when the people live side by side: it would be difficult for a Panjabi or a Gujarati word to find a place in Bengali or Assamese by direct contact, unless people speaking these languages had occasion to come in close touch with each other. That is why, naturally enough, we have a larger amount of give - and - take between Bengali and Bihari dialects as well as Hindi, and *vice versa*, Bengali and Oriya and *vice versa*, and Bengali and Assamese. The Mahrattas came to Bengal in the 18th century in a not very exalted capacity — they invaded Bengal for loot, and they had fallen far away from the great ideals of Shivaji. Two words from Marathi, one of Persian origin, came to be adopted into Bengali directly from these Marathi troops coming to Bengal — one was *bārgīr*, which became in Bengali *borgi* and the other was *cauth* (in Bengali word *cauṭhā* means "fourth", whereas the Marathi *cauth* had special meaning of "one - fourth of the revenue"). Frequently a word comes from English — particularly the English newspapers. Thus the Gujarati *haḍtāl*, the Bengali equivalent of which would be *hāṭe tālā* i.e. "lock - out in the market - place", has come to Bengali in the English form *hartal*, and it has been misunderstood and transcribed as *haratāla* (*har- tāl*). It has been thought that the word has something to do with Siva's dance of destruction.

A random selection of a few borrowings from Bengali made by the people of Bihar and Eastern U. P. as well as of Rajasthan, mostly in the course of their sojourn in Calcutta, would be interesting. Some of these words have even obtained a place in proper Hindustani, or standard Hindi.

Rasgullā and *camcam* are good the Bengali words *rasagollā* and *camcam* which have found a place in Hindi through the popularity of these sweets from Bengal, and *rasgullā* has travelled as far as Bombay in the West, Madras in the South and Peshawar in the North - West. A Bengali sweetmeat with a rather elaborate Sanskrit name *lavaṅga - latikā* I heard pronounced as *lauṅg - latkā* in a sweetmeat shop in Chandni Chowk in Delhi. Another Bengali sweet *chānār-muṛki*, which is a kind of *muṛki* or treacled puffed rice, but made from bits of *chānā* or soft cheese (and not rice), sells in the shops of Panjabi refugee sweetmeat-sellers in Delhi as *caṇā - murgī* i.e. "gram and chicken". This is of course a case of making an unfamiliar foreign word which is both unmeaning and difficult to pronounce appear familiar in both sense and sound, like the changing of *asparagus* to *sparrow-grass* in English, and *honeysuckle* to *hāni - śikal* in Bengali. As far west as Agra I have heard the word *gamchā* from the Bengali to be commonly understood and used — *gamchā* is from Bengali *gāmochā* or *gāmchā*, meaning a kind of duster - towel which is used by the poorer classes for all kinds of common use as a napkin or as a handkerchief. The word *gamchā* is now used side by side with *aṅgochā* among Hindi-speakers, but *gamchā* means a napkin made of a kind of chequered hand - woven cloth, with red or green or blue stripes. In Bengali a practitioner of the Ayurveda system of medicine has come to be known as a *kavirāja* or "Prince of Poets" — all doctors in ancient times, according to an old tradition in Bengal, had to study both grammar and *kāvya* or poetry, and hence the term *kavirāja* as a title expressing that the practitioner had some grounding in Sanskrit literature. Calcutta as a great centre of Ayurvedic studies made its mark in modern India, and the Bengali meaning of the word also passed on and was accepted among people of other parts of India as synonymous with *vaidya* or *vaid*. A number of common Bengali words are used throughout Bihar and considerable parts of U.P. in daily parlance, particularly in *Bazar Hindi* and in the spoken dialects, for example words like the few discussed below.

Jogāṛ — "arrangements" (replacing the Perso - Arabic word *intizām*) ; *tāṛātāṛi* — "quickly" (suggesting Sanskrit *tvarā*) ; *phālī* meaning "a slice" (e.g. *ek phālī laukī* "a slice of gourd") ; *caktī* meaning "a round piece" ; *khānā* as a determinative affix added to nouns and numerals to indicate oblong and flat-shaped articles (e.g. *do khānā īṭā lagegā, ek khānā se nahī hogā* — "two pieces of bricks will be required, one won't do") ; *ghunṭiā*, "a cow - dung cake used as fuel", side by side with Bihari and Hindi *goiṭhā* (= *go - viṣṭhā*) ; *bāsā* (Bengali pronunciation *bāśā*) "lodgings, temporary abode" (= Sanskrit *vāsa*), has travelled as far west as Rajasthan ; *bāṛī* in the sense of dwelling house, as opposed to a garden house as in Hindi, has also travelled West with *bāsā* ; and also the aristocratic sweet *sandeś*, which has followed *rasgullā* all over India, but not

the humbler *muṛhī* or "parched or puffed rice" (Bengali *muṛi*) which could not progress beyond Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Native Bengali words of *tadbhava* and *deśī* origin, relating as they do to ordinary things of life, do not usually pass from one cognate language to another.

But one thing is very noteworthy. The foreign vocabulary of Hindi and other speeches of North India, as derived from European languages during the 18th and early 19th centuries, largely came by way of Bengali.

The Portuguese and the other European adventurers first established themselves in centres along the coast-lands of India — Konkan and Bombay in Western India, the Malabar and the Coromandal coasts in South India, and South Bengal and South-East Bengal in Eastern India. Portuguese words were first adopted into Bengali and then they were passed on to the peoples of North India. They appear not to have gone to Hindi and other languages from the Bombay side. Similarly, from the second half of the 18th century onwards English words were adopted first in Bengali and then they were taken over in the Bihar dialects, in Awadhi and in Hindi. Words of this type are the English *kompānī*; *lāṭ* (= *Lord*); *palṭan* (Army) = English *platoon*; *jandrāl* (= English *general*, Bengali *jāndrel*); *lālṭen* = English *lantern* (or *lanthorn*, whence Bengali *lanṭhan*); etc. After the English established themselves in North India, there was occasion for English words to come directly into Hindi and other languages, and so into other languages in the rest of India. It should not be difficult to find out whether a particular language got a foreign word directly from that foreign language or through the intermediacy of some other sister-speech in India. We frequently miss the importance of the Portuguese element in Indian languages — although Portuguese words are not very large in number: they are just a little over 100 in common Bengali, although Bengali Roman Catholic Christians have considerably more than a hundred in their speech.

The same is with Persian (or Perso-Arabic) words. These words began to come to India from the 10th century onwards, and in the earlier centuries of Turki and Afghan and Indian Muslim rule, they were usually attempted to be completely Indianised — e.g. *sultān* was Indianised into *suratrāṇa* and *amīr* became *hambhīra* or *hãmbīr*, and *masjid* became *masīt*. Mostly Perso-Arabic words passed into the other languages of India *via* the various Hindi dialects, and due to the predominance of the Mogul state throughout the greater part of India from the time of Akbar onwards. Perso-Arabic words were largely adopted in all Indian languages, excepting for Marathi where there was a close study of Persian

as the official language of the Mogul Empire, and to some extent in. Bengal also, but most of the Persian and Perso - Arabic words passed *via* North India and the Hindi dialects. A phonological study of such words in the different Indian languages is sure to give interesting results.

Finally, we must mention the Sanskrit borrowings in modern Indian languages, whether Aryan or Dravidian. Sanskrit is everybody's property in India; and as things stand, any word in a Sanskrit book or in the Sanskrit dictionary is a prospective word of Bengali or Hindi, Marathi or Panjabi, Assamese or Tamil, Oriya or Kannada. But nevertheless, it has frequently happened that when a particular Indian language began to employ a Sanskrit word, and sometimes in a special sense, and then this Sanskrit word was adopted into a sister - language not directly from Sanskrit but through the intermediacy of the other language, its provenance could easily be checked with reference to its registration in literature, by taking note of the gradual increase in Sanskrit words in the literary vocabulary of the language. In early Hindi dialects and allied speeches, as well as in the Dravida languages, whenever need was felt for a new word, writers with a Sanskrit background specially went to Sanskrit most naturally. But in the earlier days they were not very anxious to retain the exact Sanskrit spelling — following the current pronunciation, these Sanskrit *tatsamas* were transformed into *semi - tatsama*. This is how we have the extensive Sanskrit vocabulary of a work like the *Jñāneśvarī* in Old Marathi and the *Rāmacarita - Mānasa* in Old Awadhi. These words were there in the books which were universally read and explained and understood as sacred classics. But through the impact of Muslim rule, particularly in North India, the current language of the people got a larger and larger modicum of Perso - Arabic words. In this way the vocabulary of ordinary people was to some extent cut off from the living touch of Sanskrit, and this happened particularly in outlying tracts in North - Western India like Sindh and Panjab. Even in Bihar a villager would say *hamār kasūr halai* = "it was my fault", where a Bengali villager would say *āmār doṣ (aparādh) hayeche,* and in hundreds of very common expressions. When a new Hindi prose style was developing in Calcutta and to some extent in Patna and Banaras during the first half of the last century, Bengali exerted a tremendous influence on this growing literary language of prose. The old *semi - tatsamas* in the various Hindi dialects were forgotten and lost sight of in the new Hindi of prose, and pure *tatsama* words began to be adopted to a very large extent, usually not directly from Sanskrit but from Bengali. A whole host of penny - a - liners or hack - writers from Bihar and Eastern U.P. would be coming to Calcutta and translating Bengali prose books, mostly fiction — good, bad or indifferent — into Hindi, books which had only an ephemeral vogue for

some decades. Most of these books are gone, as much as their originals are also not available in Bengali any more. But they helped to form the prose-style in Modern Hindi, and to bring to Hindi as it was forming itself, even though it was through the roundabout way of Bengali, the common Sanskrit heritage of India. As a result a good many Bengali incorrect uses of Sanskrit words and solecisms were taken over into Hindi without any question. Thus, the use of the word *evam* in the sense of "and"; and an expression like *dātavya cikitsālaya* for "charitable dispensary" (a usage which, as I remember, raised mirth among scholars of Mahārāshṭra and Gujarāt who use in their languages the expression *dharma-deya* for "charitable"); and a whole host of other Sanskrit expressions which became first adopted in Bengali and then came to be established in Hindi as used in Bihar and Eastern U.P., and then was passed on to the writers of Hindi further to the West. An historical enquiry into the vocabulary of Hindi prose in relation to that of Bengali on the one hand, and Gujarati and Marathi on the other, besides considering in the same context the earlier Sanskrit vocabulary of a great writer like Tulasīdāsa or Bihārīlāla or Bhūṣaṇa, would be interesting and instructive. At the present moment, the framers of Modern Hindi want to become more eclectic in their choice of Sanskrit words, and they do not want to follow the lead of Bengali any more, which is perfectly natural and praiseworthy. They are taking Sanskrit words also from Marathi and other languages, and that is why even solecisms from Marathi sometimes find their way into Hindi. In Modern Hindi, we find sometimes on sign-boards an expression like *upahār-gṛha* (second syllable small = "restaurant" (in place of the correct form *upāhār-gṛha*) which has sought to replace, quite unnecessarily, though, the more common *bhojanālaya*. The Sanskrit word *udgār* means "belching" in Bengali, and Hindi prose-writers used it in the same sense two decades ago. But now because in Marathi *udgār* is a common word meaning "expression of view", Hindi writers have become very fond of this word and are using it in that sense. The various psychological-cultural aspects of this question of Sanskrit borrowing through sister-languages in India will be exceedingly interesting. In Bengali the common word for "lecture or speech" is the Sanskrit word *vaktṛtā* (*boktritā*), and this word was used in Modern Hindi prose at one time. But now the commoner word in Hindi is *vyākhyān*, and also *bhāṣaṇ*, and Bengali is slowly picking up *vyākhyān* and *bhāṣaṇ* from Hindi. (A funny thing that I observed some years ago was that a Hindi speaker in North-Western India, in order to make his language very much up-to-date, pronounced *vyākhyān*, in what he thought was the correct Sanskrit form, as *vyākṣāṇ!*) South Indian Sanskrit scholars from Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra use the expression *upanyāsa* to mean a "discourse". But *upanyāsa* in Bengali, and, following Bengali, in Hindi, means "a novel" (in Marathi they use the word *kādambarī* to mean a

novel, which has not caught on in Hindi, nor has the Gujarati expression *naval - kathā* which may be taken to suggest both the English word *novel* and the Sanskrit word *navala* meaning "something new").

There have been consistent attempts to benefit by the example of a sister-language in the better and more expressive use of a Sanskrit word. I think it was Satyendranath TAGORE, one of the elder brothers of Rabindranath TAGORE and one of the first Indians to enter the I.C.S. (he was a good Marathi scholar, having been posted in Bombay during the eighties of the last century), who sought to introduce a few Sanskrit words into Bengali on the Marathi model. A case in point is the word for "National Anthem", which is in Bengali *jātīya saṅgīt*. But in Marathi as early as the eighties of the last century it was *rāṣṭra - stotra*. After we have obtained our *Rāṣṭra* or Independent National State when the British left India, the word which is now becoming popular in both Hindi and Bengali is *rāṣṭrīya gīt* or *rāṣṭrīya saṅgīt*. We lacked a good word for "culture" in Bengali, and the two words from Sanskrit we had at our disposal in Bengali for this purpose were *sabhyatā*, which meant "civilisation in general", and *kṛṣṭi*. Rabindranath did not like the word *kṛṣṭi* because it had in the language of the Vedas the meaning of "a people" (cf. *pañca - kṛṣṭayaḥ*), and as a compromise the word *utkarṣa* was also employed, suggesting a semantic agreement with √*kṛṣ* meaning "to cultivate" and the European word "culture" = cultivation. In 1922 while a student in Paris I discovered from my friend Dr. Parasuram Lakshman VAIDYA, who was later Professor of Sanskrit in the Banaras Hindu University, that the common Marathi word for "culture" was *samskṛti*. And after my return to India I suggested to Rabindranath that it would be a good word for use in Bengali. He immediately accepted this word, as it certainly met the case beautifully, and at once it became a rage in all Bengal and then in other North Indian languages, and we now hear of *samskṛti* and *sāmskṛtik* everywhere, and in all sorts of contexts. I wonder whether some Bengali usages with regard to Sanskrit words have been adopted in Gujarati and Marathi, Telugu and Kannada and Tamil. But I am sure there are a good few. If Bengal has given to the rest of India *swadeshī* and *swarāj* as necessary words for our political life, from Mahārāshtra we have got the word *bahiṣkār* meaning "rejection of foreign goods" and even of foreign words from a language.

Sometimes the language of our inscriptions is giving us good words, and we are also going to Prakrit for that purpose. "The laying of a foundation - stone" has been translated into some of the Indian languages including Hindi as *śilā - nyāsa* as a new Sanskrit coining, which of course is a better and a more poetic word than the unimaginative Bengali usage of *bhitti - sthāpan*. But I find that the late Ishan Chandra GHOSH who

translated the Pali *Jātakas* into Bengali discovered the word in Pali as *mangaleṣṭaka - sthāpana*, which is rather long but is quite good — but the length will go against its being generally accepted. From the Jogimara cave inscription from Sarguja State in South Bihar, dating from 3rd century B.C., the word *rūpa - dakṣa* (*lupa - dakhe*) was adopted, in the early twenties of this century in Bengali. It was taken to mean an "artist", and in this sense it was in use for some time, and was quite a popular word. But later on it was found out that this word in ancient India did not mean "an artist" but rather "a skilled accountant", and the word has been abandoned in the sense of "artist". Rabindranath suggested very properly the word *rūpa-kāra* for "artist" — which is modelled on the word *rūpa - karma* (= *rūpa - kammaṁ*) which is found in one of the Sanchi Gateway Inscriptions, to mean "artistic work", as well as other words like *citra-kāra, svarṇa-kāra, danta-kāra* etc.

In this way mutual borrowings among the various forms of Indo - Aryan, Old, Middle and New, or ancient, mediaeval and modern, have been going on, and an *ensemble* study of this question is bound to give us a very illuminating commentary not only on the general lines of phonological development of the Indo - Aryan speech but also on the sematological development of words and their service to the community as symbols of ideas and various nuances in ideas, which, when fully developed, can alone make for the nervous and expressive qualities of a language, particularly in the modern age.

HARIKATHĀ—A STUDY IN COMMUNICATION

By

Y. B. DAMLE

Acknowledgement

In an earlier note on Harikathā[1], the present author had suggested that an empirical study of the present position of Harikathā be made. It became possible for the author to make a field study of Harikathā in Mahārāshtra due to the generous grant made by the Anthropology Department, Chicago University, U.S.A. for carrying out the field investigation. I take this opportunity to express my gratefulness to late Prof. Robert REDFIELD and to Prof. Milton SINGER for enabling me to get the grant for the purpose.

The present paper really forms a preliminary report on the study. Bare facts are mainly presented in the report, reserving theoretical and technical discussions for the monograph under preparation.

1. Y. B. DAMLE: 'A Note on Harikathā', Bulletin, D. C. P. R. I., Vol. XVII No. 1, pp. 15-19.

I

Introduction

The aim of every social organisation is to effectively socialise its members so that they may conform to the accepted norms and ideals of behaviour, conduct and interrelationships—personal and group. To attain this goal, every society works out suitable institutionalised procedures. Amongst such procedures, institutionlisation of communication occupies a very significant place, for it facilitates transmission of ideas, values and culture and thus enables structural continuity.

Harikathā in Mahārāshtra is a case in point. The fact of Harikathā being rooted in devotion and therefore being a means of salvation has lent it special prestige. In fact it would be quite correct to say that transmission of culture was only a latent function of Harikathā in its initial stages. Only later on it came to be its manifest function. Devotion to the almighty God, philosophical expounding, emphasis on spiritualism and otherworldliness were regarded as the corner-stones of Harikathā. Yet, ever since we can speak of Harikathā as a well-systematized form of communication, matters pertaining to social and public affairs and social and political ethics, educating public opinion and in a general sense what may be called moulding of character have formed an essential part of Harikathā in Mahārāshtra.

As has been already pointed out in an earlier note on the topic, in Mahārāshtra Harikathā came to be systematized during the early Muslim rule. Harikathā became a welding force for the Hindu social structure torn by the inequities of caste differences. The marginal elements were sought to be pacified by throwing open the path of devotion as a means of salvation. Moreover, the avowedly religious garb of Harikathā made it less suspect by the Muslim rulers. The convention of performing Harikathā in the precincts of a temple and that too at night may be logically ascribed to the same fact. Once Harikathā could develop a forum for a critical appraisal of mundane things and affairs, it could take cognisance of the various problems right from day-to-day conduct of persons to political and moral issues. The well-developed Harikathā came in as a very handy agency to keep up the morale of the people during the British rule. It became a potent agency for encouraging people to stand up against any manner of injustice. Of course it also facilitated regaining of confidence in the traditional culture.

Harikathā in its systematized form was obviously an urban development. Yet it carried or helped carry the torch of the 'Great Tradition' to folk societies through the travelling Kathākārs. Even today the villagers look upon the performance of Harikathā as a great event and persons from neighbouring villages congregate in huge numbers. Otherwise as a recurrent and routine feature, Harikathā is performed in bigger towns and cities.

It is against this background that the present study was made during 1956-1957. Major part of the field-work was done in cities like Poona and Bombay and towns like Pandharpur and Wai, though a few performances in villages were also studied. The mode of attack was three-pronged. Thus the three elements viz., the performance of Harikathā, the performers of Harikathā i.e. the Kathākārs and the audience at the performances of Harikathā were studied in order to analyse the present position of Harikathā as an agency of communication.

In all about fifty performances were attended and studied. Care was taken to see that various types of Harikathā, viz. the Nāradīya or the Hardāsi, the Wārkari and the Nationalist types of Harikathā, were studied. Then again performances of Kathākārs of varying reputation were studied so as to represent the various grades of Kathākārs and therefore those of performances too. Detailed notes were made as regards the content of the performances. Notes were also made about the season, occasion, time and location of the performances and also about the nature of the audience. It was felt that even with the same Kathākār, the content might differ with due regard to the factors mentioned above. For this purpose a few performances were attended of a particular Kathākār, while other factors varied. The Kathākārs were interviewed. Problems such as their views about the place of Harikathā in the social structure, its present position, the role it is expected to play, response of the audience and the society at large and the attitude of the state towards Harikathā and Kathākārs, the status of Kathākārs in society, their problems regarding making a living as a Kathākār and their views as to whether Harikathā be looked upon as a source of living etc. Thus the social organisation of the Kathākārs was studied. The content of the performances reflected the prevailing ideas about the ethical, social and political norms in the context of the traditional culture. The purpose of Harikathā and related ideas about the proper elements of Harikathā were also abundantly reflected in the content. Thus the study of the content more or less provided the inner criteria for judging the performances and the performers. Finally, the responses of the audience furnished the external criteria for the same. The audience were asked to fill a Schedule that contained questions relating to I—personal back-

ground, II—what induced them to attend Harikathā, how often and since how long they have been attending performances of Harikathā, III—the features of Harikathā which impressed them, IV—expectations regarding essential features of Harikathā and the qualities a Kathākār should possess, V—preference scale for different Kathākārs and reasons thereof. VI—whether the audience had any impact on the Kathākārs in the determination of the content of Harikathā, VII—views regarding the place of Harikathā and suggestions to revitalise it, VII—facts and views about the attendance by the younger generation and if the respondents took their children to attend Harikathā, IX—contact with a Kathākār and the nature and frequency of such contacts. In short an attempt has been made to analyse the response of the audience with reference to the actual performances attended and the performers thereof, the impact of modern forces such as technology and new ideas in the field of science and social relationships on Harikathā as an agency of communication, the necessity of changing Harikathā etc. The audience were chosen for interview not on a random sampling basis, since that was impossible. Nevertheless, due regard was given to factors such as age, caste, education, place of residence and occupation of the respondents while choosing them at each performance.

The interaction of the three elements viz., the Kathākārs, the performances of Harikathā and the audience has been studied

II

Social Organisation of the Kathākārs

The following discussion relating to the Social Organisation of the Kathākārs is primarily restricted to the Kathākārs whose performance was actually attended and who were also interviewed by the author. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of the methodology employed, the author had personally discussed with the Kathākārs their attitudes and points of view relating to Harikathā as a medium of communication, the status accorded to them by society, their economic condition, the present social set-up and its reaction to both Harikathā and Kathākārs and last but not the least their social background, education, training, relationship to the audience etc., at some length. Actually here the analysis is presented, starting with the last item first.

The present analysis is divided into three main sections according to the particular sects the Kathākārs belong to. Though the main basis of Harikathā is *bhakti* (devotion), there are three well recognised methods of performing Harikathā. Of course originally there were only two

broad divisions of Harikathā, viz. (1) the Nāradīya and (2) the Nirūpaṇa Kīrtan. These two divisions are based on the distinction relating to the form, content, the audience and the types of Kathākārs regarded to be suitable for the performance of the respective type of Harikathā. As regards the Nāradīya-type Harikathā the following description holds good. The performance starts with the singing of a *śloka* (Stanza) from either of the epics—the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata or the scriptures and then follows community Bhajan (Prayer). An attempt is made to comment and philosophise on the stanza by the Kathākārs. Of course a good many quotations are offered in the process of elucidation. A good amount of singing, of course devotional songs only, goes on simultaneously. Then there is a brief pause during which the Kathākār is garlanded and *bukkā* is applied to his forehead and then to the audience. In the latter half a set theme is selected, which has a close bearing on the stanza sung in the beginning. The theme relates to the life or an incident in the life of either of the *avatāras* (incarnations) or that of the devotees of one of the *avatāras*. Elaborate details might be given, yet at the end an attempt is made to link all that meaningfully to the stanza sung in the beginning.

Though the slant is on devotional singing and the elucidation of certain philosophical principles underlying devotion as a means of salvation, entertainment of the audience is not altogether neglected. Actually it would be more correct to say that this aspect is well taken care of. Naturally this necessitates a particular set of abilities on the part of the Kathākār. Thus the Kathākār should be a fair singer. In addition he must have a sense of humour, presence of mind and ready-wittedness. In short he should never allow the interest of the audience to flag. A certain tempo has to be maintained. The essential prerequisites of a Kathākār, viz. sound learning and knowledge, the requisite mental attitude i.e. firm belief in devotion as a path of salvation, adherence to cultural traditions, some measure of other-worldliness, sound moral character, simplicity of living etc., must of course be present. But the additional capacity to entertain is also looked upon as quite essential to the Kathākārs. The audience is supposed to be comprised of laymen. And the skill of the Kathākār lies *as it were* in inducing such an audience to adopt the devotional path of salvation.

The second type of Harikathā viz. Nirūpaṇa primarily consists of philosophical expounding of a stanza from the works of either of the five saint-poets i.e. Dnyāneśwara, Nāmdeo, Tukārām, Eknāth, Niḷobā. In fact according to the strict convention the Kathākār is not even supposed to mention any other person than those mentioned here and also not to quote from any other works. And in so far as any Kathākār happens to do so, it detracts his value as a "real Wārkari". There is no set theme

in this sort of Harikathā, though sometimes the playful acts and deeds of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa are described. But greater emphasis is on the importance of *bhakti* as a path to salvation. The performance is every now and then interspersed with community prayer. In fact it begins as such. There is a brief pause at the middle of the performance and the same routine is followed as regards applying of *bukkā*, garlanding the Kathākār etc., as in the case of Harikathā of the Nāradīya type. As already alluded to, the Kathākār must necessarily belong to the Wārkari sect. The audience is also more interested in the tenets of the Wārkari cult. More often than not such performances are primarily attended by adherents to the sect. On the whole it can be said that this type of Harikathā is primarily by the Wārkari, of the Wārkari, and for the Wārkari. It hardly has any 'entertainment value'. Of course there is a good measure of singing. Naturally the qualities required of the Kathākār are also of a different nature.

There is still another type of Harikathā viz. the Nationalist Harikathā. This is a Harikathā with a purposive and systematic propaganda. There is a procedural similarity between this type of Harikathā and that of the Nāradīya type. But there is only a difference in the themes and also in the philosophical expounding. There is a marked emphasis on pragmatism in this type of performance. It can be properly called only as an off-shoot of the Nāradīya Harikathā. The emergence of the Nationalist Harikathā can be traced to the movement to dislodge the British. Even though traditional themes such as that of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa or Jarāsandha and Bhīma etc. were utilised, the purpose was to pinpoint the misdeeds of the British rulers, to spread discontent amongst the audience and to goad them into suitable action. It is reported that Lokamānya TILAK, 'the father of Indian unrest', once expressed that had he not been a political worker, he would have been a Kathākār. The Nationalist Kathākārs, some of them say, owe their inspiration to him. That Harikathā was a potent agency of communication for the aforesaid purpose is vouchsafed by the fact that the British rulers put behind the bars some of the Kathākārs for spreading discontent. Even today some of the performances are scrutinized by the police officials. A verbatim reporting is done of some of the performances that are suspected to agitate people over the 'secular policies of the State' or the Linguistic States etc. This is not to suggest that the purpose of such Harikathās is restricted only to the political sphere. In fact 'social education' in the broadest sense of the term is sought to be imparted to the audience. Anyway the distinguishing feature is the purposive propaganda. To put it rather bluntly it may be said that the form of Harikathā is used not to propagate the cult of devotion but to propagate ideas and policies which have an immediate bearing on concrete practical issues.

The Kathākār in this case must possess different qualities. Thus in the first place he must be fired by a 'sense of mission'. He must be steeped in social and political history and must be well informed about current affairs and day-to-day events. Of course the rest of the qualities essential for a Nāradīya Kathākār he must possess in good measure with special emphasis on oratory.

The audience too has special expectations of such a performance. Thus greater emphasis is laid on the discussion of social and political issues. Devotion is relegated to a secondary position. Social and political issues constitute the 'meat' of such a performance, while devotion may be only an excuse. A critical appraisal of such issues is desired by the audience more for its information value. On the other hand the Kathākār feels that he can provide guide lines for 'action'. He exhorts the audience to act on his suggestions. In some instances he even rings out promises to the effect from the audience. In certain others certain routine activities are made compulsory, e.g. the use of Swadeshi goods, by cajoling and ridiculing as the need may be.

Social Background, Education, Economic Status etc. of the Kathākārs

A. Nāradīya Kathākārs

All the Nāradīya Kathākārs under study were Brahmin by caste, amongst whom there were seven Chitpavan Brahmins and nine Deśastha Brahmins. The total number of the Kathākārs was sixteen. Amongst these Kathākārs there was only one female Kathākār. She had received training in Harikathā in an institution, run for the purpose, in Poona. She was a professional Kathākār and accepted remuneration for her performance. During the General Elections campaign she gave performance on behalf of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in towns and villages of the Poona District.

The agewise distribution is as follows: One was between 20-25; five between 26-41; three between 41-50; five between 51-60; two between 61-70. As regards formal education, five of the Kathākārs had matriculated and some of them had even higher training e.g. one of them was an *ayurveda-pārangata*, while another held a diploma in teacher's training; two had studied upto matric; one had studied in a high school; all the rest had studied between 4th to 7th standard vernacular. Of course as regards their training preparatory for Harikathā, all of them had

worked with a preceptor so that a minimum acquaintance with Sanskrit tradition, scriptures and lores could be ensured.

Nine of the Kathākārs were residents of Poona; three of Bombay, of whom one really belonged to Konkan (Ratnagiri District) but stayed in Bombay during the *cāturmāsa* as he had been engaged to give performance of Harikathā everyday throughout the season at a certain temple in Bombay; one each of Satara, Karhad, Wai and Pali.

In the case of seven of the Kathākārs there had been a tradition in the family of the performance of Harikathā of which only in one case the father of the present Kathākār and himself were amateurs. In one case amongst these the tradition went as far back as six generations.

There were only two amongst these Kathākārs who styled themselves as amateurs — of which one, who worked as a post-master in a town, accepted remuneration, while the other said that he did it for the 'love' of it. All the rest declared themselves as professional Kathākārs. Yet one of these, who worked as a professor in an Ayurveda College, did not accept any remuneration for his performance. All the rest accepted remuneration. In fact Harikathā was an avocation with them and source of livelihood. Six Kathākārs declared that their only source of income was the remuneration for the performance of Harikathā. Only three said that they held property. One of them declared business as a source of income. One was also a musician and earned income by his musical performance. One of the Kathākārs worked as a teacher in a school. Another taught in a Gītā Pāṭhśālā. As mentioned earlier one of them worked as a professor in an Ayurveda College.

The economic status of the Kathākārs can be easily judged by the facts mentioned above. In addition, by home visiting and discussions about their economic status the following conclusions were drawn. Only four of the Kathākārs could be described as well-to-do; five as belonging to the middle class and seven as belonging to lower-middle class. Four of these in fact suggested that the earnings were so low as to just about make the two ends meet.

The ideas of the Kathākārs about the purpose of Harikathā, are given below. The major purpose of Harikathā, according to the consensus of opinion amongst them, was to inculcate devotion, knowledge and non-attachment amongst the audience. Transmission of culture was another purpose. Harikathā was looked upon as a useful agency for character-formation in society by emphasising virtues. It was looked upon as a very suitable agency for the propagation of the cherished values of life.

Ethical advancement of the people was thought to be one of the aims of Harikathā. As such it was felt that a critical appraisal of the prevalent tendencies in Society was absolutely essential so as to guide the audience in proper direction. Greatest emphasis was placed on devotion to the almighty God.

These ideas about the purpose of Harikathā are further reflected in their ideas about the content of Harikathā. Major emphasis should be on content that will serve the above mentioned purposes. Political discussion should ke kept at its minimum, in case it cannot be avoided altogether. Likewise wits and jokes should be in good taste. Romantic accounts should be eschewed. In any case such accounts should be so given as not to jeopardise the major aim of Harikathā.

The following qualities were regarded to be essential for a Kathākār by the Kathākārs. A Kathākār should possess knowledge and learning — both traditional and modern, an awareness of modern affairs, events and trends in attitudes and opinions, suitable physique and age, powers of oratory, force of character, piety, presence of mind, a sense of humour, some knowledge of music and singing etc. The Kathākārs seemed to be quite aware of the fact that if the younger generation is to be attracted to Harikathā certain things will have to be eschewed by the Kathākār. Thus the Kathākār should refrain from criticising external appearance such as dress. In fact an attempt must be made to synthesise the modern and the old ways of thinking and living by the Kathākār. So also a Kathākār should be able to strike a balanced attitude and must not be a partisan in the discussion of various issues. Towards this end, it was suggested that a Kathākār should not be a member of any political organisation.

There seemed to be a divided opinion on the question — whether the younger generation was interested in Harikathā. A few of them answered in the affirmative (a fact corroborated by my observation), and further remarked that they had something of interest to convey to the young people and hence the latter attended their performances. There was a note of confidence and suggestion underlying their response to this query. On the other hand some others felt that the younger generation was apathetic to Harikathā. Actually one of the Kathākārs remarked that 'it was no use performing Kathā as the younger generation wouldn't attend and the older generation that attended was not of much use in the sense that it had lost its powers of receptivity to new ideas. Further, the older generation also attended Kathā since it was the cheapest type of entertainment available'. Another Kathākār even complained that Kathākārs were being jeered at for their dress, orthodox way of life etc. by the younger

generation. On the whole the impression seemed to be that a great deal depended on the quality and content of the performance. Evidently the Kathākārs seemed to be aware of the necessity of modifications in the system of performance.

By and large the Kathākārs felt that the earnings from the performance were adequate for a living. A couple of them felt that it was not so. A Kathākār reported that 'an average Kathākār' was paid Rs. 25/- for a performance.

The general view about the status accorded to the Kathākārs by the society at large seemed to depend on two factors — one, personal reputation, and two, general attitude towards Harikathā. As already alluded to, some felt that it was as a result of their personal qualities that they were respected by the people. This implicitly meant that those devoid of 'such' qualities were neglected by society. In this context it was even suggested that Harikathā should not be looked upon as a mere avocation by the Kathākārs. A Kathākār suggested that performance of Harikathā should constitute only a supplementary source of income. Otherwise the level of performance is likely to be affected. It was felt by quite a few that as a consequence of the operation of many other factors like the secular policy of the state, a general sense of lack of devotion to God, influence of the press and the film as agencies of communication, dwindling role of the family as a unit in the transmission of traditional culture etc. people no longer looked upon with enthusiasm and favour on Harikathā and as such the Kathākārs as a 'class' also went down in public estimation. Some of the Kathākārs suggested that Harikathā, an agency of cultural transmission, cannot flourish without adequate support from the public and the state. Yet quite a few of them also added that they wouldn't accept an assignment from the state for a performance in view of the accompanying heterodox conditions such as compulsion to accept food from lower castes, to propagate certain policies, to omit certain personalities because of their caste etc.

On the whole the Kathākārs were quite communicative and seemed to be aware of the various factors which affected Harikathā and Kathākārs.

B. *Wārkari Kathākārs*

The castewise composition of the Wārkari Kathākārs was as follows: three Brahmins, one Mali and one Kuṇbi, the last mentioned Kathākār being a descendant of the late Tukārām Mahārāj. All these Kathakars

were devout Wārkaris[2]. Naturally they had to follow a particular method of performance.

The agewise distribution of the Kathākārs was as follows: one between twentysix and forty, one between fortyone and fifty, two between fiftyone and sixty and one between sixtyone and seventy.

As regards formal education, three were trained between fourth and seventh standards vernacular, one had entered a high school and one was an M.A. All of them had derived their knowledge of traditional Shāstrās and lores from a preceptor. One of the Kathākārs was the preceptor of two of the Kathākārs mentioned here. All the three Brahmin Kathākārs stated that they were able to enhance their knowledge by direct reference to the source materials, while the non-Brahmin Kathākārs stated that they depended solely on their preceptors and the oral tradition.

Two of the Kathākārs were residents of Poona, one of Pandharpur and Degnur, one of Nevase and one of Dehu (the place of Tukārām Mahārāj).

Only two of the Kathākārs said that they had family traditions of Kathākārs over three generations. Out of these two, one — a Brahmin — belonged to a famous family of Kathākārs and the other was a descendant of Tukārām Mahārāj. As mentioned earlier, one of the Kathākārs was looked upon by other two as their *guru* and as such they claimed to follow his tradition. In fact as one listened to the performance of these two self-avowed disciples one could be convinced of the impress of their *guru's* tradition. Yet, it must also be added that at best it was a case of imitation of style and not that of assimilation of substance.

All these Kathākārs stated that they were professional Kathākārs, but they would not accept any remuneration for the performance.

All of these Kathākārs had an independent source of income. One of them was a professor in a College. Two of them had property as a source of income. Amongst these two — one was still doing business. Another looked after a temple in Nevase. One had Jagir lands.

Three amongst the Kathākārs were well-to-do and the other two belonged to the lower-middle-class.

2. For a short and authentic summary of the history and development of the Wārkari Sect see S. V. Dāndekar's pamphlet on the subject.

In general it can be said that all the Kathākārs had the same notions as to the items that should be eschewed by a Kathākār. Thus it was unanimously suggested that propaganda of any type be eschewed by a Kathākār. Discussion of political matters was naturally a taboo. Harikathā should not be looked upon as an entertainment. A Kathākār should not be after money.

As regards the positive objectives of Harikathā, it was expressed by the Kathākārs that Social Education of the people was one of the purposes. The pride of place was given to devotion and knowledge of self. It was also felt that Harikathā would ennoble the performer himself.

The qualities desired of a Kathākār followed from the views mentioned above. The first and foremost quality necessary was a deep sense of devotion to God. The Kathākār should be steeped in the traditional literature of the Wārkari Sect. In fact a Kathākār should be a very faithful follower of the sect. Then of course he should have a fair amount of acquaintance with the Hindu Shāstrās and lores.

The general impression seemed to be that the younger generation was apathetic to Harikathā, owing to the prevailing corrupting influences. Except in the case of the performance given by the Kathākār who was a professor, this impression was confirmed by my observation of the audience at their performance.

It was felt that the status of a Kathākār was mainly a function of his qualities. Thus a Kathākār who was after money and 'cheap popularity' would be but naturally despised. Tukārām Mahārāj was quoted with approval in this context. In any case Harikathā should not be looked upon as an avocation.

C. *Nationalist Kathākārs*

Though the Kathākārs listed and discussed under this section primarily styled themselves (and were also regarded by the people at large as such) as Nationalist Kathākārs they followed mostly the same form as that of Nāradīya Harikathā. In fact four of them made a special mention to the effect, while another of them pointed out that he followed the form of the Wārkari Harikathā. Actually it was observed that either the Nāradīya form of Harikathā or the Wārkari form was employed by all the Kathākārs. The common factor basically was the purposiveness of such performers. The medium of Harikathā was utilised by them primarily because of its acceptability to every section and layer of the

population and the weight of cultural tradition behind Harikathā. It was felt by these Kathākārs that Harikathā would provide the requisite platform for them to propound, preach and propagate to the people at large some of their ideas of social reconstruction. All the Kathākārs were imbued with the idea of imparting education to people, i.e., of helping people to change their attitudes and to supply the relevant knowledge and information to the people. Every one of them looked upon Harikathā as an excellent agency of social education.

There were five Kathākārs who were Brahmin by caste. One was a Maratha ; others a Parit, a Śimpi and a Kaikāḍi each. It is curious to note that the majority of the Kathākārs in this group were Brahmins. But in view of the reported emergence of the Nationalist group of Kathākārs, viz., that it was encouraged by political leaders who were highly educated Brahmins like the late Lokamānya TILAK and S. M. PARANJAPE, the keenness on the part of the educated Brahmin youth to enter this fold becomes readily explicable. In fact all the Brahmin Kathākārs alluded to the inspiration they owed to the personalities mentioned above. The rest took to this career as a very powerful vehicle for mass awakening and the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the masses. In fact all of them were engaged actively in work for the uplift of the masses. Excepting one of them who also actively propagated for Samyukta Mahārāshtra and another who propagated primarily for the All-India Organisation of Saints, all others worked for a particular mission established for the uplift of the masses. Thus, broadly speaking, it may be said that the two sections (castewise) of the Kathākārs catered to the educated (generally high caste people) classes and to the illiterate masses, though there tended to be quite some overlapping between the two.

Five of the Kathākārs belonged to the age group twenty - six to forty - one ; one to forty-one to fifty ; one to fifty-one to sixty ; one to sixty-one to seventy and one died in 1957 at the age of eighty-two.

Amongst the Brahmin Kathākārs, excepting one who had very little education in English, all the rest had University education. One of them had left college education to participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1921. All the non-Brahmin Kathākārs had very little, if any, schooling. They were simply able to read and write. Of these one was very keen on learning English and had made the necessary arrangements for imparting training in English for his son. Excepting three Kathākārs of this sub-group all the Kathākārs had learnt from a preceptor as well as studied the Shāstras and lores by themselves. The three non-Brahmin Kathākārs had only studied with a preceptor.

Three of the Kathākārs had no fixed residence. Three of them stayed in Poona; one in Otur (District Satara); one in Dombivli (a suburb of Bombay); one in Pandharpur. All those who worked for the uplift of the masses were not stationed in any particular place but moved from one place to another.

Two of the Brahmin Kathākārs stated that they had family tradition of Harikathā for three generations and above. In the case of all other Kathākārs there was no family tradition.

Amongst the Brahmin Kathākārs four styled themselves as professional Kathākārs. Of these two reported that they did not accept any remuneration. One who described himself as an amateur Kathākār, accepted remuneration. Amongst those who said that they accepted remuneration, one reported that he charged Rs. 125/- per performance. He also said that his maximum earning in a given month was Rs. 1,800/-. All the non-Brahmin Kathākārs, though professional, mentioned that they did not accept any remuneration.

The amateur Kathākār worked as a clerk in the railways. Two other Brahmin Kathākārs carried on religious propaganda and received emoluments for the same. Another was a proprietor of a school for the training of Kathākārs and also held property. Only one amongst the Brahmin Kathākārs depended on his performance of Harikathā for his living. All others had different sources of income. Amongst the non-Brahmin Kathākārs, all worked for one mission or other for their livelihood. There was no other source of income.

As regards their economic position, two amongst the Brahmin Kathākārs were well-to-do; two belonged to the middle class and one to the lower middle class. All the non-Brahmin Kathākārs excepting one who was well-to-do belonged to the lower middle class 'by choice'. (I have advisedly used the expression 'by choice' since I could see for myself that had these Kathākārs cared to amass money they could have lived in luxury — but they chose to lead a very simple life.)

As noted earlier, the Nationalist Kathākārs had invested Harikathā with a special function, viz., propounding, propagating and preaching with a view to effect change in the desired direction, i.e., instilling the educated classes and illiterate masses to overcome the various social and economic problems faced by them. As such the major purpose of Harikathā, as expressed by the Nāradīya Kathākārs, viz., inculcation of devotion, knowledge and learning and non-attachment was only accorded a secondary place, if at all, by these Kathākārs. Each one of them was

very clear in his mind that Harikathā was a very useful agency—almost an excuse—for propagating ideas oriented to certain action. One of them even suggested that to harp on the earlier function of Harikathā was a sign of weakness and a result of a lack of confidence. True, they felt, that Harikathā was a very potent agency of directing change owing to its cultural and spiritual status. Educational aspect of Harikathā was emphasised upon by the Kathākārs. The entertainment aspect was not neglected or played down. This was revealed by their views regarding the essential qualities a Kathākār should possess.

Consequently these Kathākārs stressed the importance of attracting the younger generation to their performance. For this it was suggested that a 'proper synthesis' be worked out between the old world ideals and the aspirations of the younger element. Quite a few of them realised the importance of the ability to convince the young by suitable argument. It was suggested that undue emphasis on orthodox way of life be given up. Suitable themes be selected and the interest of the younger people be maintained by introducing the nine moods.

It was suggested that in the first place the Kathākār should be imbued with a spirit of mission and dedication to the cause of change. Apart from being well-versed in the traditional literature he must be very well informed about the current trends of thought, men and affairs. The requisite knowledge of music, a sense of humour, presence of mind. etc., must be present. Powers of eloquence and dramatisation were thought to be very essential. Not other-worldliness and spiritualism but a very matter-of-fact positive attitude was regarded to be absolutely essential for a Kathākār.

All the Kathākārs agreed that remuneration be accepted for the performance of Harikathā. Yet it was equally stressed that it was not an 'ordinary avocation'. A Kathākār should be satisfied if he were to make enough for a simple living.

The Kathākārs stated that the audience at their performances comprised of the younger generation too and felt that the younger generation was neither apathetic nor averse to Harikathā. In fact they seemed to be quite confident of their ability to draw the younger generation to their performances.

As regards the status of the profession as such, it was felt that it was 'all right' and that much depended on the abilities of the Kathākār to meet the demands of changing times.

III

Content of Harikathā

The present section merely lists the ideas expressed in the performances of the three types of Harikathā. As before the ideas are described according to the type of Harikathā. Only a general presentation is attempted here without trying to correlate the ideas with either the Kathākār or the audience or the special occasions on which the performances were given.

A. *Nāradīya or Traditional, i.e., Hardāsi Kathā*

It needs to be mentioned that most of the performances attended were during the Cāturmās, i.e., the sacred four months. Such performances were usually given by a Kathākār at least for a period of one month, if not for all the four months. Of course there were a few performances for special occasions like the birthday of Śrīkṛṣṇa given by a particular Kathākār only once.

No attempt is made here to present the ideas frequencywise. Only some order has been introduced in the presentation of ideas in the sense that to start with ideas relating to the nature of Harikathā and its purpose are presented.

The content of Harikathā should be such as to emphasize the Trinity of devotion, knowledge and learning, and non-attachment. The purpose of Harikathā is to ennoble the audience and not to entertain. In fact Harikathā provides solace to the minds of people. It is, broadly conceived, an excellent medium of social education, e.g., the late Tukārām Mahārāj used it as such with great effect. Performance of Harikathā should not be looked upon as a mere avocation. It should not be the only source of income, but it should be regarded only as a supplementary source. Moreover, the Kathākārs should not bargain about the remuneration. They should be content with whatever amount is offered them.

A saint is one who is devoted to a noble mind, is disinterested in worldly gains and has attained peace of mind. Saints offer proper advice for social reconstruction after carefully observing a society and its ills. We owe our cultural heritage to saints.

Advice should be tendered to people with due regard for their capacities. Thus has been worked out the fourfold path of salvation. The

path of devotion can be followed by all and sundry. Comprehension of higher principles and reality is facilitated by idol-worship.

Perception is clouded by ignorance. Therefore it is very essential to acquire knowledge. It can be acquired either by one's own effort or with the gracious help of a preceptor (*guru*). Hence it is regarded that Heavens can be attained through his good and kindly offices.

The six enemies, viz., desire, anger, covetousness, arrogance, temptation and envy and jealousy, have to be subdued. Then alone a person can attain the requisite tranquillity of mind. Human body should be regarded only as an instrument for the attainment of the highest goal of existence, viz., other-worldliness and liberation from the cycle of life and death. Fervent prayer to God is very helpful towards this. Worldly pleasures are after all perishable. To resolve the dichotomous riddle is to attain godhood and therefore liberation too.

The householder's stage is to be eulogized because it offers shelter to guests, helpless persons, etc. Service is the keynote of the householder's stage. The four ends of human existence, viz., satisfaction of desire, worldly goods, duty and religious life and liberation, are far from inconsistent. There exists an essential harmony amongst the four aims.

Laws are the fiat of rulers. It is really the responsibility of the rulers to rule evenly and without any discrimination. Reference was made to bribery and corruption in the State and also to coercive fasts by rulers. Discontent of society causes the wrath of God. God has to take human shape in order to mete out justice to everyone. Injustice cannot be suppressed for good.

Contentment renders even poverty palatable. It is the supreme duty of women to serve their husbands dutifully.

B. *Wārkari Type of Harikathā*

As one might expect there was a much greater emphasis on Devotion. In fact it was pronounced by a very eminent Kathākār that the essence of the Vedas was devotion. Only those who had the 'right kind' of inclinations were keen to learn the same. The Trinity of devotion, knowledge and learning and non-attachment was no doubt mentioned as constituting the core of Harikathā. It was stressed that both knowledge and learning and renunciation were inadequate without devotion.

A hierarchy of knowledge was worked out. Thus the knowledge and learning of other-worldliness was stated to be the highest kind of

knowledge and learning. Worldly desires were rooted in the ignorance of such knowledge and learning. The exertion, pains and suffering caused by humdrum life can be alleviated only by acquiring such knowledge and learning. It renders a person very modest. Utility is not its purpose. Even the attainment of Heavens is not to be its aim. It is significant for its own sake.

Attainment of Heavens is only a lure offered to people so that they can behave with restraint. In fact the four stages of life have been specially designed for the common run of persons who cannot control their sense organs. Renunciation can be attained progressively. It is futile to enact laws so that people might renounce. In this context reference was made to enactments to enforce morality such as prohibition, anti-bigamy act, etc.

Advice regarding the path to be followed must bear a necessary relationship to the capacity of the person who has to follow it. The path of devotion can be pursued by all and sundry. Through idol-worship people can attain the knowledge of the highest principles. The conception of God is fashioned after an idealized human being — a perfect human being — a human being without any blemish, i.e., without any desires. Hence devotion to God is very helpful in attaining liberation.

The special contribution of Mahārāshtra lies in the synthesis of humdrum life and other-worldliness. Special credit is due to the Mahārāshtrian saints for the remarkable synthesis effected by them. The householder's stage should thus not be looked down upon. On the contrary it needs to be eulogized. One who shirks the responsibilities of householder's stage should be pronounced as timid rather than brave. Only he who has lived through the householder's stage successfully, i.e., without involvement and with a spirit of detachment, is to be credited with bravery.

Real test of religion is its operational character. Likewise saintliness is not a matter of ascription. It is not a matter of passing a resolution to the effect. Pointed reference was made to the title of saint conferred on the President of India. A saint is one who has done away with instrumentalities, i.e., who can do without the media used by ordinary persons for the inculcation of the highest principles. The saints and the knowledgeable and the learned persons owe a special type of obligation to guide the lay and the ignorant. Of course saints in Mahārāshtra, as elsewhere, have always fulfilled this task by guiding society along the 'right path'. Obviously the implication was that persons belonging to the other category haven't quite done so.

Indecision about the final aims and ends characterises humdrum life. while decisive final aims and ends — characterises other-worldliness.

The former connotes a disparity between ends and means, while the latter connotes a harmony between ends and means. In order to attain tranquillity of mind and happiness that cannot be disturbed, it is necessary to develop the faculty and habit of introspection.

C. *Nationalist Type of Harikathā*

As in the earlier section an order is followed in the presentation of the ideas as propounded by the Kathākārs.

It was felt that though Harikathā should be mainly educative in nature, yet it must be rooted in devotion to God. Even by listening to the performance of Harikathā a person would acquire merit. It was categorically stated that Harikathā wasn't meant to entertain people. Harikathā was regarded as a potent agency for providing advice on matters pertaining to religion and was regarded as a potent agency for the propagation of religion. Another purpose of Harikathā was to awaken the rulers and the ruled in respect of their respective duties and obligations. To rouse people against any manner of injustice was a very legitimate purpose of Harikathā.

Certain suggestions to the Harikathākārs emanated from the ideas expressed above such as that romance and its description be eschewed and that they must be fearless and frank in telling the truth.

References were made to the spirit of service and sacrifice in Mahārāshtra and to the immense contribution made by the saints towards maintaining traditional culture. By virtue of their keen observation of social processes, the saints can be regarded as keen sociologists. Tributes were paid to the services rendered by the Mahārāshtrian saints towards rekindling of religious sentiments amongst people, for the services rendered by them to village-folk and for the excellent synthesis of worldly affairs, social service and other-worldliness effected by them. In the same breath the present-day saints were exhorted to keep the torch alive, with special emphasis on the task of enlightening the masses in the village and improvement of villages.

Attempts were made to diagnose the ills of the body socio-politique. As one would expect, prescriptive remedies were offered too. The present age was characterized as one of romance and enjoyment and not as one of a sense of duty and obligations, the implication obviously being that no wonder that it was beset with so many ills and problems. The current overemphasis on material pleasures of life was regarded as a major source of suffering. It was felt that under the present conditions the insistence on the principle 'one man one vote' wouldn't work due

to the backwardness of the people at large. The political unrest, with special reference to the issue of Samyukta Mahārāshtra, was due to unjust rule of the government. The 'secular' policies of the state and its 'pandering' to Muslims were regarded as being instrumental in the political chaos. The deterioration in the institutions of learning and education was mentioned as a contributory cause and the futility of the present system of education was stressed upon. The Bania, the landlord, the moneylenders and the pleader were dubbed as 'parasites', and the impoverishment of people was ascribed to them. It was also mentioned, in this context, that unless people were industrious the nation could record no progress. Certain policies of the Bombay State like the tenancy legislation, the educational policies, particularly the measure taken by the State to stop the learning of English in the middle schools, and prohibition were regarded as seriously detrimental to the interests of the masses. The police firings in Bombay and Ahmedabad in connection with the issue of the bilingual State were severely criticized.

A suitable action programme was suggested ranging from purely personal to political action to overcome the present ills of society. Importance of restraint was stressed. Character building and the importance of proper company in the impressionable period of one's life, i.e., childhood, were stressed. It was felt that education would be meaningless without good thoughts and correct impulses. People should not hanker after popularity. For good action would necessarily ensure popularity in the long run. Vanity must not be given any quarter. There was no other merit apart from decent behaviour. Pilgrimage was no guarantee of merit, but proper action and behaviour alone would ensure merit.

Prayers to God were to be offered every day and not only during emergencies and calamities. The vital importance of a preceptor as a guide and mentor was stressed. People were exhorted to serve the preceptor with devotion. It was felt that life would be meaningless and futile without a preceptor.

People were exhorted to be legitimately proud of Hindu cultural traditions. The stages of life and the *varṇa* and the caste scheme should be followed by the people. The greatness of these schemes of social organisation was eulogized. The masses were advised to emulate the Brahmanic way of life in respect of certain values cherished and practised by Brahmins such as education, cleanliness, thrift, discipline, etc. The masses in particular were urged to give up eating meat, drinking liquor, observance of caste differences and discriminatory practices and untouchability, etc. In this context values of corporate and co-operative living in Japan were pointed out as worthy of emulation.

The duties and responsibilities of persons in charge of newspapers were mentioned. Thus it was pointed out that sensational news be eschewed. In the choice of a leader—political and administrative—greatest emphasis should be placed on the strength of character. The requirements of a worthy leader were listed to be moral soundness, exceptional intelligence and abilities, diplomacy, etc. By way of illustration it was pointed out that the crying need of the hour was a personality of the eminence of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa. A leader who was desirous of power and used the power of the state for this end should be removed. A ruler who was oppressive should be unseated. The obvious reference was to the Congress rulers particularly in the Bombay State and the opportunity that had come way of the people to dislodge them by the forthcoming (1957) General Elections in the country. Apart from arguing the case of Samyukta Mahārāshtra with Bombay, Nipani, Belgaum and Karwar, it was stressed that the attainment of this aim alone would guarantee or rather regain the greatly needed association and the confluence of the saints of Mahārāshtra. The need for shifting the emphasis from its political aspect to social and religious were stressed in respect of the Ganpati festival, revived by the late Lokamānya Tilak, 'the father of Indian unrest'.

IV

Response of the Audience

Certain limitations relating to the choice of the respondents for canvassing the questionnaire have already been noted, e.g., the exclusion of the female population altogether. In an approximate total number of 37,055 total audience that listened to the performances of Harikathā under study, there were 14,620 female members of the audience. From amongst the male audience a little more than one per cent sample has been chosen for study.

Before describing the sample it would be useful to say something about the nature of the audience. As in the earlier section, the audience are described with reference to the type of Harikathā. Two other variables have also to be introduced here, viz., the caste of the Kathākār and his social status or reputation and the locality in which a particular performance was given.

A. *Nāradīya or Traditional Hardāsi Kathā*

It has been already noted that all the Hardāsi Kathākārs were Brahmin by caste. Barring five performances, in all other cases the audience was

primarily composed of high caste Hindus — Brahmins, Chandrasen Kayasth Prabhu, etc., in the main and a few Marathas.

In one case the performance was attended by persons of higher and lower castes, amongst whom the females were in a majority — actually two and a half times the number that of males. This performance was given by a mediocre Kathākār on a monthly basis in the Institute for the training of Kathākārs. In the second case, though the Kathākār had a high reputation, the performance was given in a temple that is usually frequented by the Wārkaris of lower caste. In fact the Kathākār announced at the very commencement of his performance that it was specially meant for 'such audience'. Moreover the temple is situated in a locality where there is a predominance of lesser business community, e.g., the Śimpis, and the population is composed of lower castes. In the third case, the Kathākār was none too famous and gave a performance on a monthly basis in a temple situated in similar circumstances as the above. In the fourth case, though the Kathākārs had a fair reputation, the performance was given on a monthly basis in a temple that was owned by a person of a lower caste and also frequented by persons belonging to lower castes. In the fifth case the performance was given by a mediocre lady Kathākār, exclusively for the ladies, in the temple as described in the second case.

B. *Wārkari Kathā*

Amongst the Kathākārs three were Brahmin, one a Mali and another — a Kuṇbi by caste. One of the Brahmin Kathākārs had a reputation over and above that of a Kathākār. Yet even his performances were attended primarily by Wārkaris who were illiterate and mainly belonged to lower castes. In one case this Kathākār was specially invited to give performance on the occasion of Lokamānya Tilak Anniversary in a temple situated in a predominantly Brahmin and high caste locality. This performance was therefore attended by persons predominantly of the Brahmin and the higher castes, who were also well educated. In another instance too this Kathākār was specially invited by Brahmins to give his performance in a temple in a suburb of Bombay. On this occasion the audience was composed of Brahmins, Wārkaris and others of lower castes. On all other occasions his performances were attended primarily by Wārkaris of lower castes and by others belonging to lower castes, even though the audience he drew tended to be very large in number. In Bombay for instance the total audience was in the neighbourhood of 3,000. In the case of every other Kathākār, the audience was composed mainly of the Wārkaris and persons of lower castes who had little education to speak of.

It is true that the performances were of the sect, by (those of) the sect, and for the sect. As has been noted earlier the performances of Wārkari Kathākārs are highly structured. Therefore the nature of the audience is also more or less pre-determined. Excepting certain special personalities this observation holds good for the Wārkari Kathākārs.

C. *Nationalist Kathākār*

There were five Brahmins, one Parit, a Śimpi and a Maratha amongst the Nationalist Kathākārs whose performances have been studied. The performances of the Brahmin Kathākars were mainly held in temples situated in a predominantly Brahmin and higher castes locality. Only in one instance (in Bombay) it was given in a temple situated in a mixed locality. And in this case the audience was composed half and half of higher and lower castes. In all other instances the audience was composed primarily of higher castes who were also educated.

As for the performances given by non-Brahmin Kathākārs, two of them were given in Pandharpur at the time of Wāri (Annual pilgrimage) before the Wārkaris and illiterate masses. As noted earlier this fact had consequence for the content and the method of these performances. In the case of the third Kathākār these performances were given in one instance in the vegetable market, Poona on the occasion of the Ganpati festival at the invitation of vegetable dealers and in other two instances in small villages on behalf of the Samyukta Mahārāshtra Samiti on the eve of the General Elections 1957. In the case of all these performances the audience was composed of the Marathas (uneducated) and the lower castes (mostly illiterate).

Description of the Sample and Its Response

In describing the response of the audience it is not possible to resort to the sectionwise division adhered to here before. It should be mentioned that in the case of three performances schedules were not available — of which one was of the Wārkari type and other two of the Nationalist type. Of course, in the case of the latter two, though schedules could not be filled, the response of the audience was elicited, with special reference to the performance. This will be described at the end of this section.

The castewise distribution of the sample was as follows: 147 Brahmins, 7 C. K. Ps., 12 Marwari, Jain, Gujar, and Tambat, 53 Marathas,

26 Shimpis, Sutar, Mali, Gaoli, Koshti, Nhavi and Teli, 4 Vanjari, 1 Harijan and 1 Brahmosamajist.

The agewise distribution was: 11-15: 2, 16-20: 18, 21-25: 34, 26-30: 24, 31-35: 17, 36-40: 26, 41-45: 21, 46-50: 26, 51-55: 29, 56-60: 29, 61 and above: 31. Thus 78 respondents were below the age of thirty-one. Thus younger people also attended the performances of Harikathā.

The place of residence and caste of the audience seemed to bear correlation with each other. In Poona for instance there was a concentration of the Brahmins and C. K. Ps. in a given locality, of the Marathas in another, of the artisan castes in still another and so on. The only Harijan member from the sample, lived in the traditional locality for the Harijans in Poona. In Wāi, amongst the fourteen persons interviewed, excepting one Maratha young man, who was a student, all the rest were Brahmin by caste.

Likewise there seemed to be a correlation between caste and occupation. All those who belonged to the higher professions and the higher salaried groups were Brahmin by caste. Amongst the Government employees and teachers there was a preponderance of the Brahmins and the C. K. Ps., though there were a few Marathas and persons belonging to artisan castes too. As for craftsmen, though there were a couple of Brahmins, the majority was composed of non-Brahmin and artisan castes. There were a couple of Brahmins who worked as peons or as labourers in a mill. Yet here too the majority was constituted by the lower castes. As regards priestly functions and Kathākārs there were ten Brahmins, a Maratha and a Vanjari. On the other hand in respect of farming, there was a preponderance of the Marathas, though there were a few Brahmins and persons belonging to other castes. Similar feature seemed to obtain in respect of business and trade. As one might expect, there were ten Brahmins who were either unemployed or only looked after the household affairs, two Marwaris and Gujars, four Marathas and three belonged to the artisan castes. Amongst the students there were fifteen Brahmins, a C. K. P., a Marwari or Gujar, eleven Marathas and a person belonging to the artisan castes.

As for the educational level the figures below give us a good idea. Illiterates 11; Literates 43; Vernacular Std. I to III 3; Vern. Std. IV to VII 21; Vern. Final to Second Year Trained 14; Vern. VIII to X 24; Matric and First Year Examination in a college 60; Intermediate 21; Graduates 26; Post-graduates 16; Technical Diploma or Degree, etc., 3. (In the case of five schedules this item had not been answered.) Thus, a little more than fifty per cent of the audience had modern education.

In order to find out as to how the audience acquired interest in attending Harikathā, it was asked of them if their parents, guardians or other members of the family were interested in Harikathā and attended the performances of Harikathā. The replies were as follows: 188 respondents said that their parents and family members were interested in Harikathā and attended the performances; six of them replied that only some of their family members were so interested; seventeen said that their family members evinced some interest in Harikathā; four persons did not answer this query. Seventy-one of the respondents replied that the first time they ever attended the performance of Harikathā was with either of their parents (35 with mother and 36 with father); fourteen with both the parents; fourteen with grandparents; twenty-nine with other members of the family; one with his wife; fifty-one with their friends; nine with others (possibly neighbours); thirty-one by themselves; twenty-one didn't answer. The influence of family members and friends in creating interest in Harikathā in the minds of the respondents is thus very obvious.

There were sixty-two respondents who stated that they attended the performance of Harikathā every now and then; sixteen, everyday during the sacred four months and otherwise intermittently; thirty-three, once or twice a month; twenty-eight, three to seven times a month; six, eight to ten times a month; forty-six said that they made it a point to attend the performance of a 'good' Kathākār; eight, intermittently; sixteen, not every now and then; five, whenever there was a performance in the town (meaning that performances were few and far between); only one person didn't answer this question. Thus, a large majority of the respondents attended the performance of Harikathā quite frequently.

Seventy-three of the respondents mentioned that they have been attending the performances of Harikathā since their childhood. A large majority of the respondents have been attending Harikathā for over ten years. This reflects the sustained interest on their part in Harikathā.

The following material describes the reaction of the audience to questions such as — the items that impressed them in the content of the last performance they listened to, whether the performance is in any way dependent on the inclination of the audience, expectations of Harikathā, features of Harikathā that find favour with the audience, the qualities deemed as essential for a Kathākār, the preference in favour of certain Kathākārs and the reasons thereof, the impact of Harikathā, etc.

Fifty-one respondents stated that they liked the particular theme discussed in the performance; twenty-three, inculcation of devotion;

eighteen, philosophy ; eighteen, ethics and moral principles ; sixteen, devotional songs and music, style and method of discussion of the Kathākār ; fourteen, the greatness of saints ; fourteen, critique of political situation ; nine, criticism of social affairs and reform, wits and humour ; four, religious education ; seven, nothing whatsoever ; and forty-nine respondents didn't answer at all.

Seventy-five respondents felt that the performance was mainly a matter of the inclinations of the Kathākār while other forty-two felt that the inclinations of the audience had an impact on the performance. Twenty-seven respondents felt that though it was primarily a matter of the inclinations of the Kathākār, yet the performances were such that the audience could, without difficulty, grasp the purport thereof. Twenty-three felt that it all depended on the personality of the Kathākār in question. Eight felt that the inclinations of the audience were given due regard. Eight felt that it all depended on the nature of the audience. Eight felt that it was according to the sect. Six felt that a compromise was effected by giving due regard to the inclinations of the audience as for the latter half of the performance, while the first half, i.e., the philosophical expounding, was left to the inclinations of the Kathākār. Seven felt that neither of these had any impact on the performance. Twenty-six did not answer.

Twenty-eight expected that Harikathā should bring about societal improvement (possibly meaning thereby that new ideas can set the ball rolling). Nineteen expected Harikathā to contribute towards character-building and improvement. Seventeen wanted Harikathā to inculcate the virtue of devotion to the Almighty God. Seventeen expected philosophical discussions. Fifteen looked upon Harikathā as a suitable mechanism for reviving and rekindling interest in religion amongst people. Nine felt that 'improvement' should be the result. Seven expected enhancement of knowledge and wisdom. Six felt that spirit of nationalism be fostered. Six expected the State to take greater interest in Harikathā and give financial aid. Four expected that devotional prayers be melodious. One hundred and seventeen respondents didn't answer.

Bearing in mind that since a large majority of the audience were Brahmin by caste, yet certain relationship seemed to exist between the peoples' caste and their expectations. Thus amongst the seventeen respondents who expected philosophical expounding, there were thirteen Brahmins, three Marathas and only one person belonged to the intermediate castes. The only Harijan respondent expected, as one might well expect, societal reform. As for those who stressed the devotional aspect there were quite a few non-Brahmins. Five Brahmins and a

Maratha mentioned inculcation of the spirit of nationalism. There was a preponderance of Brahmins over others amongst those who looked upon Harikathā as an agency to build up and reform character. On the other hand non-Brahmins seemed to bank more on Harikathā in respect of enhancement of knowledge and wisdom.

The younger respondents seemed to be more keen on societal reform and improvement (a young student between eleven to fifteen, being included amongst these). In respect of enhancement of knowledge and wisdom, the younger respondents were eight in number while there was only one respondent who belonged to the age-group forty-six to fifty. A similar feature was discerned in respect of inculcation of the spirit of nationalism (the same young student being included amongst these). The balance swung in favour of the relatively older people in respect of philosophical expounding, inculcation of devotion, character-building, general improvements, etc.

Those who had education upto matriculation and beyond that, were in preponderance amongst those who expected Harikathā to help build and reform character. The same trend was noted in respect of enhancement of knowledge and wisdom. They seemed to be in a majority amongst those who expected Harikathā to bring about societal improvement and reform ; in respect of inculcation of the spirit of nationalism and also in respect of philosophical expounding. On the other hand there was a majority of those who ranged from illiteracy to vernacular eighth standard to tenth standard amongst those who expected Harikathā to inculcate a sense of devotion and to revive and rekindle interest in religion. It may be worth noting that amongst the six illiterate respondents (who answered this part of the query) one expected societal improvement and reform ; two, inculcation of a sense of devotion ; and two, general improvement. Obviously they seemed to reflect their personal problems in their reaction to this question.

A division of the features of Harikathā, that found favour with the audience, into main and subsidiary was made so as to find out the interests of the audience and also to assess the audience itself. The latter aspect is discussed below. The association of the features presented below gives an idea about the nature of the features. Philosophical expounding, ethics and moral principles, devotional singing and reciting the name of God, and combinations thereof were regarded as main and music, theme, style and nationalist aspect of Harikathā, wits, humour, entertainment value of Harikathā and combinations thereof were regarded as subsidiary for this analysis. Amongst those who mentioned philosophical expounding as a feature of Harikathā that was appreciated by them, were also some

who mentioned that music, or theme, style, etc., or wits and humour or all of these were appreciated by them. Only seven amongst these didn't mention any other feature. Sixteen didn't mention any other feature amongst those who had mentioned devotional singing recitation as features of interest to them. Likewise there were ten amongst those who favoured a combination of ethics, and moral principles and devotional singing and recitation of God's name, who didn't mention any other feature. There were about a hundred respondents who appreciated both the main and the subsidiary features and the combinations thereof mentioned above.

The respondents were asked to state the qualities they regarded as essential for a Kathākār to possess. Here again a division into main and subsidiary qualities was made. Qualities regarded as main were—moral character, knowledge, learning and ability to recite, being well-versed in many fields of learning, modern knowledge, devotion to Almighty, a sense of mission and spirit of resignation and denial, interest and participation in societal affairs—that means the ability and the desire to be 'good' and 'useful' to society and the various combinations thereof. Music and ability to sing, style, ready-wittedness, presence of mind, a sense of humour, personality and dignified appearance and oratory and combinations of these have been regarded as subsidiary qualities. The figures below give us an idea about the thinking of the respondents on this matter. Sixty regarded moral character as the main quality a Kathākār should possess ; one hundred and thirty-nine — knowledge, learning and ability to recite ; twenty — being well versed in many areas of knowledge and learning and modern knowledge ; thirty-eight — devotion to Almighty ; twelve — a sense of mission and the spirit of resignation and denial ; fourteen — interest and participation in social affairs etc. Amongst those who regarded the above-mentioned qualities as main, there were many who also felt that style and oratory, though listed as a subsidiary quality, were quite useful qualities for a Kathākār and particularly the former quality was thought to be quite important. Amongst those who regarded the main qualities as essential for a Kathākār, there were fifty-two respondents who didn't mention any subsidiary quality at all. On the other hand there were sixty-five persons who regarded subsidiary quality — music and ability to sing — as essential ; ninety-five — style ; twenty-five — ready-wittedness, presence of mind, sense of humour and jokes ; twenty-seven — personality and dignified appearance ; sixty-eight — oratory. Amongst these there were thirty-seven respondents who didn't mention any of the main qualities.

In terms of the preference expressed by the respondents for the various Kathākārs, it is possible to infer something about their preference

for the different types of Harikathā. Seventy-nine respondents expressed their first preference for Hardāsi Kathā. Amongst these, there were forty-five who gave second or third preference also to Hardāsi Kathā; twelve to Nationalist Kathā; twelve to Wārkari Kathā. There were seventy respondents who gave first preference to Wārkari Kathā. Amongst these, there were thirty-one persons who gave second or third preference to Wārkari Kathā; twnty-three to Hardāsi and only nine to Nationalist Kathā. There were seventy-nine respondents who gave first preference to Nationalist Kathā. Amongst these there were forty-five persons who gave second or third preference to Nationalist Kathā; seventeen to Hardāsi Kathā and seven to Wārkari Kathā. A continuum of the types of Harikathā can be thus postulated — with the Wārkari type and the Nationalist type being at the two ends and the Hardāsi type lying somewhere in between. Those at the two ends had hardly anything in common, the Hardāsi type acting as the common element.

A marked preference was expressed for the Hardāsi type of Harikathā by Brahmins, though the same held in respect certain Nationalist Kathākārs who were Brahmin by caste. Thus amongst those who recorded first preference for Hardāsi Harikathā, there were fifty-nine Brahmins, seven advanced castes, seven Marathas and seven intermediate castes. Amongst those who gave first preference for Wārkari type of Harikathā there were thirty-one Brahmins, four advanced castes, twenty-one Marathas, twelve intermediate castes and two belonged to other castes. Forty Brahmins recorded their first preference for Nationalist type of Harikathā; six advanced castes; twenty-three Marathas; seven intermediate castes and three belonged to other castes. Similar trend was revealed in the second and third preference orders. As for the factor of age it had a marked impact on preference. Thus the younger group below thirty-five showed marked preference for the Nationalist type of Harikathā whether it was a matter of first or second or third preference. Age didn't seem to have much significance in respect of the Hardāsi and Wārkari Harikathā, though the balance did seem to tilt a little in favour of those above thirty-five.

The preference for different Kathākārs stated below includes only those for whom there was higher frequency. An interesting feature to be noted about this is that almost the entire list of the Kathākārs as per first, second and third preference orders hardly varied, except for a couple of names, from each other. Mr. D., a Wārkari Kathākār, had the highest frequency in three preference orders, irrespective of the caste and place of residence of the respondents. The same could be said in this case in respect of factors such as age-groups and educational groups. Next stood Mr. A., a Nationalist Kathākār, who had more or less the next highest

frequency in the three preference orders, irrespective of the caste, place of residence, age and education of the respondents. He was preferred by the youngest as well as the oldest respondents. Next to him was Mr. N., a Hardāsi Kathākār, who had a higher frequency in the first preference order than in the other two orders. He was preferred almost exclusively by the Brahmin respondents. Other factors did not have any effect. Mr. G., another Nationalist Kathākār, was mentioned only in the first preference order — primarily by Marathas and lower castes, though there was a Brahmin respondent too who had given him the first preference. Other factors were of no significance. Two Nationalist Kathākārs — Messrs K. & K.—had a consistent frequency in all the preference orders, primarily from the Brahmin respondents. Here too other factors were not significant. Mr. S., a Hardāsi Kathākār, was put only in the second preference order, mainly by the Brahmin respondents. Mr. S., a Nationalist Kathākār, was included only in the second preference order — primarily by Marathas and by those who didn't have advanced education. Mr. T., a Nationalist Kathākār, was also included in the second preference order only—was primarily preferred by Non - Brahmins. Yet there were two Brahmin respondents. Mr. K., a Hardāsi Kathākār, was included only in the third preference order — primarily by Brahmin respondents.

The respondents were asked to give the *raison d'être* of their preferences. As before, here too the discussion is restricted to only those Kathākārs who had the highest frequency. The discussion follows as per preference order.

Mr. D.: Those who placed him in the first preference order presumably did so for his qualities such as high moral character (only one respondent mentioned this), and other qualities which have been listed as essential qualities and combinations thereof. The same qualities were attributed to him also by those respondents who put him in the second and third preference orders.

Mr. A. was put in the three preference orders mainly because of his attributed ability to revive and rekindle interest in Hindu religion, Nationalist fervour and his method of narration, ability to sing Bhajans etc.

Mr. N. was put in the three preference orders mainly for the essential qualities of a Kathākār attributed to him.

Mr. G. was placed in the first preference order mainly due to his method of narration.

Messrs K. & K. were placed in the three preference orders due to their reviving interest in Hindu religion, learning and knowledge and method of narration.

Mr. S. who was put in the second preference order, was attributed qualities such as high moral character, learning and ability to recite, adherence to the sect and other essential qualities and combinations thereof.

Mr. S. was placed in the second preference order for his ability to revive and rekindle interest in Hindu religion and the method of narration mainly.

Mr. T. was put in the second preference order for his philosophical expounding, ability to revive and rekindle interest in Hindu religion, method of narration and devotion.

There was thus no ranking of Kathākārs into the various preference orders on account of differential qualities. On the other hand, there was a marked consistency in the qualities attributed to the Kathākārs whether they were placed in the first place or the second or the third preference orders.

Impact of Harikathā on the Minds of the Audience

The respondents were asked to state if any of the features of Harikathā had made any impact on their minds. The following were the replies:—

Fifty-two — faith, religious feeling, faith in the existence of God, devotion to God, *bhajans*, mythological tales etc; seventeen — ethical principles; Sixteen — ethical principles, philosophical expounding, political critique etc.; fifteen — moral character and faith; fourteen — discussion of politics, training in the political principles and inculcation of suitable sentiments, historical anecdotes, social reform; fourteen — moral character, inclination towards a good deed and self-purification; ten — the educative role of the saints; eight — actually joined the Wārkari sect due to the listening to Harikathā. There were a few who said that they were impressed by the entertainmnt aspect of Harikathā, or developed interest in the performance of Harikathā as a vocation, or looked upon Harikathā as a solace or an escape from the worries of life, or developed interest in music, wits and humour and other arts.

It was felt that there may be some correlation between the features of Harikathā preferred and the qualities desired of a Kathākār. The two-way tables brought out such relationship. Thus those who preferred main features of Harikathā such as high moral character, ethical principles etc., also desired that the Kathākār should possess qualities like high moral character, learning and ability to recite, devotion to God, being

well - versed, possessing modern knowledge, social affairs etc. In all there were eigthy-eight respondents in this category. Their castewise composition was as follows: — Brahmins 53; Maratha 17; Shimpi, Sutar 9; C.K.P. 5; Marwari, Sonar etc., 3; Harijan 1. The respondents belonged to all the age-groups. Majority of them were matriculates and above. Likewise quite a few of them were either teachers or government servants, higher professions, students, priests, Kathākārs etc.

As regards those who mentioned faith, devotion and certain combinations there were one hundred and sixteen respondents. In this group premium seemed to be placed upon qualities such as high moral character and learning, though devotion and social affairs were mentioned. Though the Brahmins were a little more than half the number of the respondents, there were many Marathas, Shimpi, Sutars etc. There were a couple of Vanjaris too. A large majority of the respondents belonged to the age-group above thirty. In respect of education, a little more than a majority belonged to the group that had education upto tenth vernacular standard. Yet there was no effect of occupation.

There were fifty - one respondents who had mentioned philosophical expounding, spiritualism and other-worldliness and their combinations. This group emphasized qualities such as learning and knowledge, high moral character, devotion, spirit of sacrifice, interest in societal affairs, etc. Brahmins were more than a half, a sizeable Marathas, a few Shimpi, Sutar, etc., and a couple of C.K.Ps. All the age-groups were represented — curiously enough there were six respondents from the age - group sixteen to twenty. More than a majority of this group had education upto matriculation and beyond, there being fourteen persons who were at least graduates (not a single illiterate). The higher professions, the teachers, government servants, quite a few who had retired, quite a few students and a few persons who held lower posts including that of a mill labourer, were represented in this group. Curiously enough, there was no respondent from the group of priests and Kathākārs.

There were twenty - eight respondents who mentioned political and social affairs and their combinations. This group emphasized qualities such as learning and knowledge, devotion, interest in societal affairs and high moral character. Of the group there were seventeen Brahmins, six — Shimpi, Sutar, etc., two Harijans, a Maratha, a Marwari or Sonar and a Vanjari. A little more than a majority belonged to the younger age-group, i.e., upto thirty. Here too the majority was constituted by those who had education upto matriculation and beyond, not a single illiterate. Teachers and government servants, professions, priests, Kathākārs, students, retired persons, land - holders, traders, etc., were represented, though the largest number was that of teachers and government servants.

There were only sixteen respondents who had mentioned that they looked upon Harikąthā as a solace to their mind and were impressed by its entertainment value. They emphasised qualities such as style, personality and dignified appearance, ability to sing, oratory, etc. The Brahmins formed fifty per cent of this group ; there were four Marathas and four Shimpi, Sutar, etc. There were quite a few who belonged to the age - group sixteen to twenty - five. There were eight persons who had education upto Matriculation and beyond. Amongst this group there were six students, three each from lower services, mill - labourers, etc., and those who had retired, two landholders and one each from traders and those who either looked after the household property or were unemployed.

There were nine respondents who looked upon Harikathā as a 'better sort of entertainment'. Of these three emphasised style and one emphasised personality and dignified appearance as essential qualities for a Kathākār. Five didn't answer this part of the query. There were four Brahmins, two Marathas and three Shimpi, Sutar, etc. All the age - group — sixteen to twenty — all the rest being above forty. Likewise the different educational layers were represented. Occupation-wise distribution was as follows : three tailors, etc., two who had retired, two students, one trader, one land - holder.

There were ten respondents who declared that Harikathā had made no impact on them whatsoever. Of these only four mentioned style, personality, ability to sing and oratory as qualities essential for a Kathākār. Six of them were silent about it. There were three Brahmins, six Marathas and a Brahmosamajist. More or less all the age - groups were represented. Likewise the various educational layers were represented. Teachers and government servants, unemployed, students, landholders were represented.

Gradation of the Audience

Even as the Kathākārs were graded, the audience too have been graded in terms of their responses such as the features of Harikathā that have impressed them, the features they regarded as main or secondary, the qualities that were regarded by them as being essential for a Kathākār, etc. Working on this basis, five grades of the audience have been established. Thus the first grade is constituted of those who emphasised philosophical expounding, spiritualism and other - worldliness ; the second grade — of those who emphasised philosophical expounding in addition to societal and political affairs ; the third grade — societal and political

affairs, etc.; the fourth grade — societal and political affairs and the entertainment value of the Harikathā etc.; the fifth grade — mainly the entertainment value of Harikathā.

There were one hundred and twenty - seven respondents who were placed as *per* the scheme of gradation mentioned above, in the first grade. The distribution as *per* place of residence was as follows: Poona, sixty-two; Bombay, twenty - five; places other than Bombay or Poona, forty. Amongst these there were seventy - two Brahmins and Prabhus, fifty - three Marwari, Wani, Gujar, Maratha, Shimpi, Sutar, etc., and two Harijan or Vanjari. There were only thirty - two respondents below the age of thirty - five, while the rest, i.e., ninety - five were about thirty - six. As *per* level of education, there were forty - four persons who had training upto vernacular fourth standard (obviously enough smaller education is no deterrent for the moral and spiritual advancement of people), twenty-nine upto Matriculation, thirty - one upto graduate and twenty - one above graduation.

There were fifty - four respondents in the second grade. Of these thirty - four belonged to Poona, ten to Bombay and ten to other places. There were forty - four Brahmins and C. K. P.s and ten Advanced Hindus, Marathas and Intermediate castes. Twenty - one respondents were below the age of thirty - five, while thirty - two were above thirty - six. In this case there were only three respondents who had training upto the Fourth Vernacular Standard, all the rest being trained upto Matriculation and above.

In the third grade there were forty - one respondents, of which twenty - six belonged to Poona, only one to Bombay and thirteen to other places. There were twenty - three Brahmins, fifteen Advanced Hindus, Marathas and Intermediate castes and three were Harijans or Vanjaris. Twenty - nine of them were below thirty - five, while the rest were above thirty - six years. Only four had training upto fourth standard vernacular, while the rest were upto Matriculation and above.

There were fifteen respondents in the fourth grade. Twelve of these belonged to Poona and the rest belonged to other places. Of these eight were Brahmins and the rest belonged to the Advanced Hindus, the Marathas and the Intermediate castes. Nine respondents were below the age of thirty - five, while the rest were above thirty - six. Here again there were only two respondents who were trained upto fourth standard vernacular, while all the rest were upto Matriculation and above.

Eight respondents were placed in the fifth grade, of which six belonged to Poona, one to Bombay and one to other places. There were three

Brahmins and the rest belonged to the next group. Three respondents were below thirty-five, the rest belonging to the age-group thirty-six to fifty-five. Only two were trained upto the fourth vernacular standard, the rest upto Matriculation and above. Thus education seemed to vary inversely with the gradation of the audience.

Contact between the Audience and the Kathākārs

Modern developments in theories of Small Groups and influence of small groups have highlighted the importance of personal contact in the entire process of communication. This problem has been tackled from various angles: (1) the qualities regarded by the audience as essential and or desirable in a Kathākār, (2) features regarded as essential from the point of view of the content of Harikathā, (3) preference scale or grading of the various Kathākārs by the audience, (4) impact of Harikathā in terms of the actual performances of Harikathā attended, and (5) grading of the audience in terms of their choices regarding the expected features of Harikathā and qualities expected of Kathākārs, etc. But obviously enough the variable that has not been explicitly discussed is that of contact between the audience and the Kathākārs. This variable is discussed below. Apart from providing the link in the communication process, the variable is also felt to have consequences for the continuities of the process of communication.

The problem is discussed more from the side of the audience in the sense that the audience were asked to say if they had any contact with the Kathākārs and if so what was the nature of their contact in terms of the frequency of the contact, ideas or topics discussed with Kathākārs, etc. As for the Kathākārs, they were merely asked in a general manner to state if they felt their message carried any weight with the audience. Beyond this they were not asked to state if they had any contact with the audience.

The audience were asked if they had any acquaintance with any of the Kathākārs and if so to specify the names of the Kathākārs, the frequency of contacts, the topics of discussion, etc. There were one hundred twenty-five respondents who said that they had no acquaintance whatsoever with any Kathākār. There were ten respondents who, though they were acquainted with some Kathākārs, didn't contact them. There were twenty-seven respondents who said that they knew some Kathākār and met him every now and then. The topics they discussed with the Kathākār were societal, religious, path of devotion, other-worldliness, present state of affairs, biographies of saints, pertaining to studies, music and mythology, welfare of each other, pertaining to Harikathā.

There were sixty-two respondents who knew and contacted frequently more than one Kathākār. There were sixty respondents who knew and contacted a Kathākār or two once in a while. Taking both the divisions of respondents, there were eighteen respondents who discussed other-worldliness, the same number who discussed matters pertaining to Harikathā, sixteen who discussed religious matters, eleven — path of devotion, ten — societal matters, nine — each other's welfare, eight — biographies of saints, five — present state of affairs, and two each — pertaining to studies and music and mythology.

Amongst the total of fifty-three Kathākārs, as mentioned by the respondents, thirty-three Kathākārs were being met frequently by some of the respondents, while the rest were being contacted once in a while. These were thirteen Nationalist Kathākārs, five Wārkari Kathākārs and all the rest were Nāradīya Kathākārs.

There were only thirteen non-Brahmin Kathākārs amongst those who were contacted by the audience. Amongst the Kathākārs who were frequently contacted by the audience there were twenty-five Brahmin Kathākārs, while the rest were non-Brahmin. Peculiarly enough, the ten respondents who contacted frequently the non-Brahmin Kathākārs were non-Brahmins themselves. This fact goes to establish the exceptional nature of the solitary preference expressed by a Brahmin respondent in favour of a non-Brahmin Kathākār (Reference-section on preference for Kathākārs). Two Marathas, a Wani, a Vanjari, an Ahir Gawli and two C. K. P.s were amongst those who had frequent contacts with Brahmin Kathākārs. In fact it would be correct to lump together Brahmins and C. K. P.s as respondents in view of the commonness of their interests as revealed by the topics discussed by them with Kathākārs. There were twenty-one Brahmin and two C. K. P. respondents who maintained such contact with Brahmin Kathākārs.

The preferences for the various Kathākārs, as discussed in the relevant section, are largely reflected in the frequency of contact by the audience with the various Kathākārs mentioned here. Thus Mr. D., who had the highest frequency in the first preference scale, also had the highest number of respondents in respect of frequency of contact. The same was the case in respect of Mr. A., Mr. N., Messrs. K. and K. etc.

Going into the topics discussed by the audience with the Kathākārs, it was found that (including those who contacted the Kathākārs once in a while) the topics evinced a wide range. Broadly the topics could be listed under the categories — I Devotional, Moral, Educational, Philosophical, Spiritual. II Societal and Political affairs. III Harikathā as an agency of

communication, the possibilities of its utilization for various ends such as the spiritual, the political etc. and the problems with which it was faced or rather the factors that constituted a threat to its continued existence. IV Personal matters. Thus it is evident that from the point of view of the impact and influence of Kathākārs the first two categories were extremely significant. The third category was significant for the maintenance of continuity of the traditional communication. The fourth category, helped retain personal touch between the Kathākārs and the audience and was indirectly responsible for maintaining the flow of a communication.

By and large there seemed to be a correspondence between the personality and interest of the Kathākārs and the topics discussed by the audience with them. To put it more dogmatically, the pattern of communication seemed to be dictated by the personality and the interests of the Kathākārs. For instance the topics seemed to bear a positive relationship to the type of Kathākār. Thus political and societal affairs were discussed primarily with a Nationalist Kathākār. Of course there was no evidence to suggest that the interests of the audience were by any chance to the contrary.

Nevertheless there were a few instances wherein the interests of the audience seemed to dominate the pattern of communication. A C. K. P. respondent, irrespective of the type of the Kathākār or his interests, discussed only matters pertaining to education and that also with special reference to the place of Sanskrit. Then there was a Brahmin who was interested in discussing the present state of affairs and the state of Harikathā as an agency of communication, irrespective of the type, personality or interests of the Kathākār. A Wani respondent was interested only in other - worldliness. Another Brahmin was interested in the present state of (Hindu) religion and as such discussed only that topic, irrespective of even the capacity of the Kathākār to deliver the goods. There was yet another Brahmin respondent who discussed about the religious sanctions in respect of political affairs under varying conditions. There were a few others who were preoccupied with certain personal problems such as their studies, their relationships with the parents or teachers and as such discussed only these problems with a Kathākār whom they met frequently.

Thus the sort of communication that existed was not only in a single direction that is entirely dependent on the interests of the Kathākārs but the *vice versa* was also true in some cases. Thus the process of communication was strengthened. On the other hand, had it been a single-directional flow, it might have been weakened. The relationship, under such circumstances, between the Kathākār and the audience would have been merely that between a distributor and a recipient. The discussions on

various topics, mentioned above, provided the feed-back mechanism and thus helped strengthen both the process and the agency of communication.

As for the Kathākārs, barring a few who felt that the younger generation could no longer be attracted to attend Harikathā and the other generation that attended were too occupied with their own worries and also couldn't take in any new ideas and that therefore Harikathā couldn't have any impact on the audience — there were quite many Kathākārs who felt confident that their message was accepted and respected by the younger generation. The failure on the part of Harikathā to attract the young was ascribed by some of the Kathākārs to the prevailing spirit of agnosticism, policies of the state, rival or rather powerful agencies of entertainment such as the movies, and the general tendency of decrying anything and everything that was old and orthodox. The optimistic element amongst the Kathākārs and which was in a majority, felt that the younger generation could be and was actually attracted to Harikathā. This group ascribed this fact to their capacity to deliver the message in a suitably effective manner by taking due account of the tastes and aptitudes of the younger generation. Thus there were quite a few Kathākārs who felt that their message carried weight with the audience.

Possibilities of the Continuation of Harikathā as an Agency of Communication

There are two approaches necessary to this problem. The first approach is to find out as to how far the present audience helps Harikathā to continue as an agency of communication by creating the requisite interest in the younger generation. The second approach is to elicit the opinion of the audience as to whether the younger generation has retained interest in Harikathā and if there is a loss of interest, the reasons thereof. Both the approaches have been utilised.

The respondents were asked if they attended the performances of Harikathā along with their children. In this context it is necessary to refer to the fact that as for the respondents studied, in a large majority of the cases they developed interest in Harikathā presumably as a result of their accompanying the parents, or grand-parents, or other members of the family. The familial influence seemed to go a long way in creating and sustaining interest in Harikathā. Amongst the respondents there were seventy-five persons who took their children along with them to attend the performances of Harikathā. In the case of seventy-two respondents, as they didn't have any children or if they had any the children were too young to accompany them, this part of the query was inapplicable. There were sixteen respondents who didn't at all answer this

question. There were eighty - four respondents who replied that they didn't take their sons or daughters along with them to attend Harikathā. They were requested to give reasons thereof. Twenty - seven respondents ascribed it to differences of tastes and liking ; seventeen — to matters of convenience and the suitability or otherwise of the content of Harikathā for their children ; twelve — rarely took their children ; nine — to the young age of the children and their consequent incapacity to understand Harikathā ; eight — to no particular cause ; six — to the preoccupation of their sons and daughters — say with their education or employment ; two — to the fact that they themselves didn't regularly attend the performances of Harikathā ; two — to the possibilities of disturbance by children which might lessen their own concentration ; one — took his sons and daughters only to a Nationalist type of Harikathā.

Next, the respondents were asked if they felt that in the younger generation there was a dwindling in the interest in Harikathā and to state the reasons thereof. There were only eighteen respondents who felt that the younger generation evinced greater interest in Harikathā. There were forty - one respondents who felt that there was no lessening in the interest in Harikathā on the part of the younger generation. One hundred and sixty - six respondents felt that the interest in Harikathā was receding. Thirteen felt that much depended on the abilities of the Kathākār to create and sustain interest in Harikathā amongst the younger generation and suggested that Nationalist Harikathā could do so effectively.

Amongst those who felt that greater interest was being evinced, there were eleven Brahmins and C. K. P.s and seven Advanced castes and Intermediate castes. There was only one respondent who was upto twenty years in age, seven between twenty - one and thirty - five, eight between thirty - six and fifty - five, two beyond fifty - five. Eight of these respondents belonged to Poona, five to Bombay and five to other places. Only two of the respondents were educated upto fourth standard vernacular, while all the rest were trained upto matriculation and above.

Of the forty - one respondents who felt that interest in Harikathā was not receding, there were fifteen Brahmin and C. K. P.s, twenty - four belonged to the Advanced and Intermediate castes and two to the Harijan or Vanjari castes. Only three of the respondents were upto the age of twenty, eight between twenty - one and thirty - five, twenty - one between thirty - six and fifty - five and nine above fifty - five. Eighteen belonged to Poona, four to Bombay and eighteen to other places. Twenty - one were trained upto fourth standard vernacular and all the rest upto Matriculation and above.

Amongst those who felt that interest in Harikathā was receding amongst the younger generation, there were one hundred and nine Brahmin and C. K. P.s, fifty - four Advanced castes and Intermediate castes and three Harijans or Vanjaris. There were many persons (relatively) who were upto twenty years in age, fifty - three between twenty - one and thirty - five, sixty - eight between thirty - six and fifty - five and thirty - one were above fifty - five. One hundred and eight respondents belonged to Poona, twenty - three to Bombay and thirty - seven to other places. Thirty - two of these were trained upto fourth standard vernacular, thirty - eight upto Matriculation and ninety - three upto graduation and above. Obviously enough, the highly educated respondents felt that prospects of Harikathā were dismal.

Amongst those who felt that a great deal depended on the Kathākār and his abilities, there were ten Brahmins and C. K. P.s and three were Advanced castes or Intermediate castes. Thus prescriptions were suggested primarily by the Brahmins and the C. K. P.s. Only one of these was upto twenty years in age, seven belonged to the age - group between twenty - one and thirty - five and five to the older age - groups. Apparently there was a feeling that if 'proper prescriptions' were administered the interest in Harikathā could be sustained. Six respondents from Poona, three from Bombay and four from other places made this conditional statement. All the respondents were educated upto Matriculation and above.

Analysis of Dwindling of Interest in Harikathā

The respondents were asked to give their own analysis of the factors responsible for the dwindling of the interest in Harikathā amongst the younger generation.

The factors below were mentioned as being responsible for the dwindling of interest in Harikathā in the order of frequency :—Loss of religion and absence of religious instruction, indifference to religion, other forms of entertainment and current fashions, impact of modern system of education, lowering of the status of Kathākārs and the paucity of Kathākārs who can provide the audience with appropriate content, stereotyped nature of the performances of Harikathā and the monotonous content and old themes, lack of faith and agnosticism, lack of adequate entertainment, should have nationalist Harikathās and new themes, domestic difficulties with which the audience are confronted and the lack of availability of spare time to attend Harikathā consequent thereupon, the widespread belief that Harikathā is primarily meant for the older people, lesser possibilities of proper and beneficial ways of impressing the minds of the

younger people, blind faith in religion and tacit acceptance of religion are no longer palatable to the young, different tastes and aptitudes and the fact that many guardians themselves do not attend the performances of Harikathā and thus their children also naturally do not attend.

As one might expect, the Brahmins and the C. K. P.s were most vocal in their analysis of the situation. There were quite a few who belonged to the Advanced castes and Intermediate castes and from the lower castes. Certain factors such as unacceptability of implicit faith in religion to people, differences in tastes and aptitudes, the fact that many guardians themselves do not attend Harikathā were exclusively mentioned by the Brahmins and the C. K. P.s. Factors such as lack of religious instruction and loss of religion, lack of faith and agnosticism, impact of modern education, imitation of the westerners, current fashions and new forms of entertainment, loss of status of the Kathākārs etc. were stressed upon also by those who belonged to the second category amongst the castes. The Harijans and other lower castes merely mentioned factors such as lack of religious instruction and loss of religion, imitation of westerners and current fashions, loss of status of Kathākārs and domestic difficulties.

Those who belonged to cities like Bombay and Poona were naturally more critical. The younger age-group i.e. those below thirty-five exclusively mentioned the factor that implicit faith in religion and such practices were no longer acceptable to the people. As one might expect, there was a large majority of those above thirty-five amongst the respondents who mentioned lack of religious instruction and loss of religion. Likewise the same group was more vocal in stressing the impact of modern education, imitation of the westerners, domestic difficulties etc. The younger group was more vocal in stressing the stereotyped nature of Harikathā, its monotonous content and the loss of status of the Kathākārs etc. Both the younger and the older groups equally asked for a greater element of entertainment in Harikathā and suggested that Nationalist Harikathā would find favour.

Only those who were educated upto graduation stressed that implicit faith in religion and such practices were no longer acceptable to the people. This trend could be seen also amongst those who stressed factors such as stereotyped nature of Harikathā and its monotonous content, imitation of westerners and new forms of entertainment, loss of status of Kathākārs, lack of possibilities of creating proper and beneficial impressions on the minds of the younger people etc. By and large, it can be said that those who had higher education were much more vocal in their analysis than those who had little education to speak of.

Addendum

The responses of the audience who had responded to the questionnaire have already been presented and analysed. But there were a few performances attended by me, wherein the audience did not respond to the questionnaire in its entirety. Actually all the three performances were by the same Kathākār — a nationalist Kathākār about whom details have already been given in the relevant section — in three different villages in the Poona District on the eve of the General Elections 1957. The Kathākār was propagating on behalf of the Samyukta Mahārāshtra Samiti for the candidates put up by the Samiti. It was but natural that the themes chosen by the Kathākār were in keeping with the message to be conveyed. In fine, it can be said that a balance sheet of the deeds and misdeeds of the then ruling party viz. the Congress was presented and it was emphatically pointed out how parasitical elements such as the landlords, the moneylenders, capitalists, bootleggers etc. had flourished at the cost of the masses under the rule and that therefore the masses should not vote in favour of any candidate put up by the Congress, but should vote *en bloc* for the Samiti candidates.

Apart from the feasibility or otherwise of canvassing the entire questionnaire amongst the audience, it was felt advisable to concentrate on the impact of the propaganda. It needs to be mentioned that in all the three villages, to start with, the atmosphere was pro-Congress. In fact it was well nigh difficult to get the local assistance to get the performance started. But once the performance commenced, people poured in even from the neighbouring villages. I interviewed about ten respondents each *per* performance. The audience was fairly homogeneous in its composition. The query made was as to the reaction of the audience to the performance, its content, style and the Kathākār. There was a unanimous reply that they were greatly impressed by the very eloquent way in which the entire case had been advocated by the Kathākār and that majority of the people would vote for the candidates put up by the Samiti. It would be too facile to accept the response at its face value. Yet it needs to be mentioned that in the said constituency, noted for its pro-Congress leanings, the candidates put up by the Samiti were elected with a majority of votes.

V

Concluding Observations

Certain propositions can be made on the basis of the material presented regarding A — the nature and place of Harikathā in Mahārāshtra, B —

the social composition and status of the Kathākārs and their points of view about the purpose of Harikathā and its role under changing conditions, C — Audience, their composition and reaction of Harikāthā and Kathākārs, and D — the possibilities of the continuity of Harikathā.

A. The nature of Harikathā and its place in Mahārāshtra

Harikathā in its developed form is essentially an urban phenomenon and it is a carrier of the 'Great Tradition' to folk and peasant societies. Though it may be rooted in devotion, transmission of culture is a manifest function of Harikathā. In a broad sense of the term, social education is another manifest function of Harikathā. Entertainment aspect is by no means neglected, though the proportions of it tend to vary with the type of Harikathā, the personality of the Kathākār, the nature of the audience and the occasion. Harikathā takes up on itself the duty of directing the thought and action of the audience, provided other agencies like the family and the school continue to perform their duties in this respect. Harikathā puts premium on a stable social order and makes a plan that change should be well graduated. It is true that some Kathākārs seemed to be very keen on fairly extensive reforms. Yet even such Kathākārs seemed to pin their faith on traditional and constitutional methods and procedures. It may be said that the basic Hindu social structure was in no way attacked by such Kathākārs. The slant was on accommodation and adjustment.

Harikathā occupies an important place in the life of Mahārāshtra for the reasons already mentioned. Harikathā is by and large a force towards conformity. Of course change is advocated in such a manner that the basic structure would not be affected. Harikathā finds favour with classes as well as with masses. Status in the caste hierarchy, age, education, occupation etc. did not militate against Harikathā. These factors merely influenced the choice of the type of Harikathā and Kathākārs.

B. The social composition and status of the Kathākārs and their points of view about the purpose of Harikathā and its role under changing conditions

Majority of the Kathākārs studied were Brahmin by caste, whether they were professional or otherwise. This fact invests the vocation with prestige. Then again the amount of learning also contributed towards its prestige. Certain skills and abilities and a 'sense of mission' were other factors which helped make the vocation prestigious. There is no doubt that there were a few Kathākārs who felt that they had neither

status nor economic prospects. But by and large the Kathākārs didn't regard themselves as nobodys. From the economic point of view, the Kathākārs belonged to the middle and the lower middle classes. But charismatic factors seemed to compensate them in respect of social status. Of course there were ifs and buts, which were suggested by the Kathākārs themselves.

On the whole the Kathākārs seemed to agree with each other about the purpose of Harikathā. Quite a few of the Kathākārs mentioned the trinity of devotion, knowledge and learning and non-attachment as constituting the major purpose of Harikathā. Yet these very Kathākārs also emphasised its implications for day-to-day conduct and behaviour, social and political relationships — in short mundane affairs. Harikathā was not looked upon as a mere ideational and a liberating force but it was felt that it had implications for practical policy-making too.

The Kathākārs felt that Harikathā had an important role to play in respect of transmission of culture in creating the necessary ethical and moral attitudes and in enthusing people towards right action and conduct and also to initiate change in 'desirable' directions, even under changing conditions. Of course quite a few Kathākārs suggested that 'suitable' modifications be made in Harikathā to accommodate changes in tastes, circumstances etc. On the whole, the Kathākārs felt that Harikathā would continue to hold sway on the minds of the people, provided the necessary modifications are made.

C. *The audience, their composition and reaction to Harikathā and Kathākārs*

One of the striking features about the composition of the audience was the preponderance of the higher castes, excepting the performances in Pandharupur at the time of Wāri (fair and festival). Another feature to be noted was the almost absence of the untouchables. The feature could be mainly explained in terms of the fact that performances of Harikathā were given mostly in temples. Otherwise persons belonging to various age-groups, educational groups and occupational groups attended the performances of Harikathā. The presumption that the younger generation had lost its interest in Harikathā was believed. There were quite a few students in the audience. There were quite a few highly educated persons in the audience. The reaction of the audience to the content of Harikathā and to the Kathākārs seemed to be influenced by the following factors such as the caste, age, education, occupation, and place of residence of the listeners and caste, education,

sect, personal reputation etc. of the Kathākārs. Those who belonged to high castes and had higher education seemed to be most vocal in making suggestions for modifying some of the features of Harikathā. An inescapable conclusion was that the audience seemed to be convinced about the desirability of the future continuity of Ḥarikathā.

D. The possibilities of the continuity of Harikathā

There were quite a few amongst the audience who took their children along with them to attend the performances of Harikathā. Then there were quite a few who suggested that but for certain difficulties they would like their children to accompany them. So these answers indicate the continuity of Harikathā. The audience in certain cases, suggested certain modifications in the nature and content of Harikathā and in the performance of Kathākārs. But the audience seemed to agree on the desirability of the continuity of Harikathā. The Kathākārs too, by and large, seemed to voice the same feeling. Thus the continuity of Harikathā seems to be pretty well assured, given certain modifications. It also seems to be well assured that by and large Harikathā will be a force for conformity. And any change that might be advocated through Harikathā would be gradual, without disturbing the structural unity of the Hindu social system.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE GUPTA CIVILIZATION

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

By

R. N. DANDEKAR, Poona

Growth of Cities

The highly organized and efficient system of political, military, revenue, and judicial administration evolved by the Guptas naturally proved conducive to the general prosperity and happiness of their subjects. The economic stability and development, which characterised the Gupta period, must, indeed, be said to have constituted the true basis of the all-round cultural progress made during that period. One of the indications of the economic prosperity under the Guptas may be seen in the rapid growth of cities. The Gupta inscriptions confirm Fa Hien's testimony that Magadha was a prosperous country with rich towns possessing large populations. Pāṭaliputra, which was the imperial capital, must have been the centre of all economic activities. This fact is corroborated by Fa Hien. We know from the Gayā grant of Samudra Gupta[1] that Ayodhyā was the seat of Gupta Jayaskandhāvāra as early as that emperor's time. It also appears from other epigraphic records, such as the Karamdanda inscription of Kumāra Gupta I[2] and the Damodarpur copperplate of Bhānu Gupta[3], that, though Pāṭaliputra remained the official capital of the imperial Guptas, Ayodhyā too rose to great prominence and was perhaps regarded as the second capital of the empire. Ujjain, the capital of Malwa, was the head-quarters of the Kṣatrapas, and, after having conquered that part of the country, Candra Gupta II seems to have become particularly fascinated by that city. He, therefore, made it a practice to treat that city as his capital and used to live there for some months in the year. It is not unlikely that this practice was actually necessitated by the special exigencies of administration, which had arisen on account of wars against the Śakas, and the political reorganisation of the newly acquired territory in that region. In accordance with the special inclinations of Candra Gupta II, Ujjain soon became the centre of all cultural activities sponsored by that emperor, and, has, since then, been immorta-

1. *CII* III, 254.
2. *EI* X, 71.
3. *EI* XV, 142.

lised in the annals of ancient India as the seat of Vikramāditya and the Nine Gems in his court. Gargaratatapura, which was a city situated on the bank of the river Gogra in Saran district, is described, in an inscription[4], as having been adorned with wells, tanks, temples, worship-halls, pleasure-gardens, etc. Daśapura in Western Malwa was a flourishing town, where a guild of silk-weavers, being attracted by the virtues of the sovereign, migrated from the Lāṭa province[5]. Airikiṇa is described as the *svabhoganagara* (pleasure resort) of Samudra Gupta[6]. Vaiśāli, where a large number of Gupta seals were discovered, was situated to the north of Pāṭaliputra, in the modern Muzaffarpur district, and seems to have been an important industrial and administrative centre[7]. Among other cities mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions are Indrapura[8], Mānapura[9], and Girinagara[10]. It is needless to suggest that all these cities must have been characterised by great architectural beauty. Mention may also be made, in this connection, of prominent sea-ports, like Tāmralipti on the eastern coast and Bhṛgukaccha on the western coast, which served as the main spring-boards for Indian merchantmen and which thus played an important part in the economic life of the country.

Guilds

The Gupta sovereigns seem to have made special efforts to develop industrial and commercial settlements in various parts of their dominions by offering concessions and patronage to guilds of merchants. A typical example in this respect is that of the guild of silk-weavers who migrated from Lāṭa to Daśapura in Western Malwa. There they flourished in their business under the patronage of the Gupta monarch; and, perhaps, in grateful remembrance of this event, they built in that city, in 437 A.D., a 'noble and unequalled' temple of the Sun-god with the large amounts of wealth acquired by them through their craft[11]. Another guild, namely, that of oilmen, is mentioned as carrying on prosperous trade in the town of Indrapura[12]. Apart from the fact that the activities of such guilds of traders, craftsmen, and merchants testify to the favourable conditions specially created for them by the Gupta emperors, they also throw much light on an important feature of the economic life in the age of the Guptas. It is a well-known fact that many departments of public life in ancient India functioned on corporate lines. This fact becomes all the more patent from the study of economic institutions, such as the guilds of the Gupta

4. *CII* III, 72.
5. *CII* III, 79.
6. *CII* III, 18.
7. *ASR* 1903-4, p. 107.
8. *CII* III, 68.
9. *CII* III, 137.
10. *CII* III, 57.
11. *CII* III, 79.
12. *CII* III, 68.

period. We know from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu that corporate trading had been a significant feature of the economic life of ancient India since very early times. The fact, however, that, in his law-book, Yājñavalkya deals with the law of corporations—*sambhūya samutthāna* — in greater detail[13] would show that such corporate activity had become far more common in the days of the Guptas. A guild was a corporation of businessmen who came together and bound themselves by specific rules and conditions with a view to carrying on trade on co-operative basis. It had its own constitution and organisation and it functioned more or less as an autonomous unit in its own sphere. A guild seems to have possessed considerable executive and judicial authority over its members. It was often referred to by the name of its elected leader or by the principal trade followed by its members. The guild of oilmen, which carried on business at Indrapura, was, for instance, designated after its head, Jīvanta[14]. There is enough epigraphic evidence to show that the guilds were often mobile, and moved from one place to another in order to improve their prospects. The unity of the members was the very essence of these guilds, as is indicated by the stipulation, in the above-mentioned record, that '(the temple of) the Sun (is) the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen, of which Jīvanta is the head, residing at Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, (even) in moving away from this settlement'[15]. The Mandasor inscription[16] shows that the guilds usually carried on prosperous business, and, in spite of occasional set-backs, enjoyed quite a long existence. The details about the guild of silk-weavers given in that inscription are very important for the study of the corporate activities in the age of the Guptas. We are told that several members of that guild, after having migrated to Daśapura, took to various pursuits other than silk-weaving, such as, archery, religion, astrology, story-telling, and asceticism, while, at the same time, continuing to be members of the guild. It thus becomes clear that the guilds were not necessarily closed corporations of businessmen occupying themselves with one particular business alone. Members were given considerable freedom in the choice of their individual professions. It is also to be noted that the members of these commercial guilds were interested not only in their own trade exclusively, but also in several other cultural activities. Interesting side-light is thrown by inscriptions[17] on several other works of public utility carried out by the various guilds. Such works included the construction of assembly-houses, water-sheds, public gardens, wells, etc., aid given to

13. *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II. 259-65.
14. *Op. cit.*
15. *CII* III, 71.
16. *CII* III, 79.
17. *Lud*: 1133, 1180; *EI* VIII, 82-86; *CII* III, 79

poor people in the performance of sacrifices and other religious rites, banking business, and trusteeship of public funds and private bequests.

Public Works

It has to be mentioned, in this connection, that public works were undertaken and executed also by the state itself for the welfare and prosperity of the people. Reference may be specially made to the repairs of the Sudarśana lake and the connected irrigation plant, carried out in the province of Surāṣṭra, under the benevolent rule of Skanda Gupta's provincial governor, Parṇadatta, and his son, Cakrapālita[18]. It may be presumed that when Kālidāsa says[19] that, during the regime of Daśaratha, 'no illness set its foot among his folk', he must have in his mind the measures taken by his imperial patrons in the matter of public health. It may be further presumed that, through his poems and dramas, Kālidāsa gives indications about other works of public utility carried out by the Gupta sovereigns, such as, construction of roads and bridges, improvement of communications, setting up of big and small industries and working of mines, which afforded means of living to a large number of people, the capture of wild elephants and such other animals, which were a menace to the neighbouring locality, etc.[20] Endowments of religious as well as of secular character made by the Gupta sovereigns in favour of a community as a whole or of individuals, as known from epigraphic evidence, are too numerous to be mentioned here.

Industries

Several industries, even heavy industries, seem to have grown under the patronage of the imperial Guptas. The casting of the wonderful iron pillar at Meharauli[21] would not have been possible except in a fully equipped iron and steel plant. The Allahabad pillar inscription[22] mentions a large number of weapons, which also must have been manufactured in such iron works. Ship-building was another big industry which had developed in the age of the Guptas, and it must have considerably facilitated the activities of the Indians in the field of trade and colonisation. Silk industry has been a speciality of the Indians since very early times. Reference has already been made to the prosperous guild of silk-weavers of Daśapura[23]. There is a tradition that Roman ladies of those days were particularly fascinated by the silk gowns manufactured in India. These

18. *CII* III, 56.
19. *Raghuvaṁśa* IX, 4.
20. *Ibid.* XVI, 2 ; XVII, 64 ff ; etc.
21. *CII* III, 139.
22. *CII* III, 1.
23. *Op. cit.*

gowns are said to have been so fine in texture that they were then regarded to have been woven out of air. Great commotion was caused in the city of Rome on account of the steadily growing flow of Roman gold into India through the silk trade. The fairly developed condition of trade and industry in the age of the Guptas is clearly indicated also by the elaborate laws of partnership, contract, foreign trade and commerce, and allied topics, prescribed in the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti.*

Agriculture

Not only did the Gupta emperors promote industries in urban areas but they also paid equally great attention to rural economy. Agriculture has, as a matter of fact, been the main occupation of the Indians in all ages. Special efforts seem to have, therefore, been made by the Guptas to bring under cultivation as much land as possible. The very large number of royal grants, mostly relating to waste lands, clearly testify to the active agrarian policy adopted by them. Constant supply of water was made available to agriculturists through irrigation works and wells[24] constructed at several places throughout the country. Irrigation works seem to have been a special responsibility of the state. They were regularly supervised by the state officials and scrupulously maintained in order. When, for instance, on the night of the sixth day of Bhādrapada in the year 136 of the Gupta era (= 455 A.D.), the Sudarśana lake near Girinagara in Surāṣṭra burst owing to excessive rains and consequently caused damage to the irrigation plant, it was very promptly repaired by Cakrapālita within a short period of two months and at 'an immeasurable expenditure of wealth'[25]. The construction of an embankment of solid masonry, 'hundred cubits in length, sixty-eight cubits in breadth, and seven *puruṣas* in height'[26], within such a short time, cannot be said to have been a mean achievement and would clearly testify to the efficiency and the equipment of the public works department under the Guptas. We learn from archaeological and literary sources that all the principal features of agricultural operations, such as, cultivation, sowing, harvesting, irrigation, animal husbandry, and precautions against insect-pests were known and practised, in an expert manner, during this period. It seems that the basic principles

24. The construction of *vāpīs* and *udapānas* is frequently referred to in the Gupta records. It may be presumed that *vāpīs* were wells for agricultural and allied purposes, while *udapānas* were wells of drinking water. *cf. CII* III, 72.

25. *CII* III, 56.

26. It is suggested by some scholars that *utsedhato anyat puruṣāṇi sapta* in stanza 36 of the Junagadh Rock Inscription might be translated as 'in height *another* seven *puruṣas*' (that is, in all seventy-five *puruṣas*).

and methods of agriculture, with which the ancient Indians had been familiar since early days, underwent but little change in course of time.

Minor Sources of Income for the State

While thus trying to make their subjects economically happy and secure, through several state measures indicated above, the imperial Guptas also saw to it that the state treasury was always adequately replenished. In order to achieve this, they seem to have exploited every possible source of income, presumably without adopting any extortionist policy. We learn, for instance, from the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*[27] that gambling was brought under state control and was thus turned into a source of revenue for the king. In this respect the attitude of the Gupta monarchs appears to have been quite realistic—as, indeed, it should be—as opposed to the puritanism of the *Manusmṛti*. A striking indication of the prosperity and the wealth of the Gupta empire is seen in its gold coinage. In times of emergency, however, the Guptas had to modify their gold standard. We know from the evidence of the available Gupta coins that, in times of extraordinary crisis, the Guptas adopted a specific expedient in their currency policy, by virtue of which the weight of coins remained unchanged but there was definite deterioration in the amount of pure gold.[28]

It will be thus seen that, in the matter of industries, agricultural economy, overland and sea-borne trade and commerce, corporate activities in the economic field, and execution of works of public utility, the imperial Guptas had made great progress. Under them the country attained a high state of material civilisation, and the national wealth increased considerably. Just as the political and military organisation of the Guptas helped to establish peace and order in their dominions and thus secured, for the people, freedom from fear, their planned and vigilant development of national economy ensured, for the country as a whole, freedom from want. Their entire economic policy aimed at creating conditions of economic security for the people as also at raising the general standard of life by increasing the national wealth. The great cultural activities, such as those in the fields of art and letters, which characterise the Gupta age, would not have been possible without such universal sense of economic security and prosperity.

Fa Hien's Testimony

Apart from the inscriptions, coins, and literature belonging to the age

27. *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II, 200-03.
28. Vincent SMITH, *The Early History of India*, 1904, p. 270.

of the Guptas, the travel-diary written by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hien[29], provides us with ample first-hand information about the general political, social, and religious conditions of that period. Fa Hien arrived in India in 399 A.D. and remained in this country up to 414 A.D. He was thus able to see the very acme of the Gupta imperial glory. He came to India overland to visit the Buddhist holy places and obtain authentic copies of scriptures. Entering India at Peshawar, Fa Hien travelled over the mountains to the north and the west, crossed the Punjab to Mathurā, and, visiting on his way Kanauj, Ayodhyā, and several holy places in Magadha, finally reached Pāṭaliputra. In this capital of the Guptas, he was at last able to find some scriptures, and so he stayed there for three years learning the language and copying the sacred scriptures. From there he proceeded to Tāmralipti near the mouth of the Hooghly, where he spent two years in similar occupations, and then sailed for Ceylon on his homeward journey. He thus had excellent opportunities of observing the life of the people in Northern India, and, though his mission was mainly religious in character, he has left behind sufficiently full reports regarding secular matters also.

It would appear from the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim that distant parts of the country, on the frontiers of the Gupta empire, were comparatively desolate. The holy places in North Bihar, which Fa Hien visited, were, according to him, situated in a wilderness, and he saw only some priests and a few families living near the shrines. The bulk of the Gangetic plain, however, was well populated and prosperous. Throughout the imperial dominions, the pilgrim was able to travel in peace and free from fear, as if he were the cloud in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Cloud-Messenger), and he pays the highest tribute to the Guptas for the happy condition of India during their regime. The Gupta administration was, he tells us, free from all sorts of vexations which state interference in individual life normally causes. The severe bureaucratic restrictions, with which the pilgrim had become so familiar in China, were almost absent. The people paid no head-tax, and remained generally unharassed by officials. The subjects were left largely to follow their own intentions, and the criminal law was singularly lenient. The kings governed without corporal punishment, but criminals were fined, according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. 'Even in cases of repeated rebellion', writes Fa Hien, 'they only cut off the right hand'. Trials were conducted without torture. There was no bother about passports from one part of the empire to another and this fact helped to create a general sense of imperial unity

29. J. H. Legge, *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* (being an account of the Chinese monk Fa-hien's Travels), Oxford 1886 ; H. A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien* (re-translated), Cambridge 1923.

and solidarity. Land-revenue had, of course, to be paid, but 'there was no registration or official restriction', and 'those who want to go away may go'. Various sorts of charitable institutions were established. Fa Hien was particularly impressed by a free hospital, which he describes in some detail. 'Hither come all poor or helpless patients suffering from every sort of infirmity. They are well taken care of and a doctor attends to them, food and medicine being given according to their wants. Thus they are made quite comfortable, and when they are well they may go away.' This is, perhaps, the first instance of a free general hospital recorded in history. From his writings, Fa Hien appears to have been a keen and discreet observer of things. Even making allowance for the facts that he was inclined to see only the best in this holy land of the Buddha, that, by his descriptions of the conditions in India, he perhaps wanted to attract a large number of Chinese pilgrims to this country, and that, while recording his observations in his travel-diary, he always had the conditions in China before his eyes, we have to admit that India under Candra Gupta II, as represented by Fa Hien, was happier and better governed than in any other period of ancient Indian history.

A PROBLEM IN MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

By

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The current theory of morphological analysis requires that allomorphs should be grouped together into morphemes on the basis of commonness of meaning and non-contrastive distribution. By the very nature of the case, the first criterion is used as a useful device and emphasis is placed on the fulfilment of the second. In addition, the approach makes use of a few presuppositions like the inadmissibility of synonymous morphemes, equal status for all kinds of morphemes as far as the grouping of allomorphs is concerned and that allomorphic distribution should be stated in enviornments in a morphemic form.

The actual working of this theory with materials from different languages, however, appears to show some kind of implicit difference between two types of morphemes and it may help to clarify the basic ideas of morphological analysis, if we consider the possibilities in this direction

Of the four logical possibilities which present themselves when two morphs are considered together as regards their sameness of meaning and phonemic shape, three offer no difficulties. Two morphs of the same meaning and phonemic shape may be readily considered as two occurrences of the same morph or morpheme as the case may be. If they differ in meaning to a considerable extent but show the same phonemic shape, we call them different but homophonous morphemes. If they differ both in form and meaning, it is obvious that they are different morphemes. The only possibility which needs a careful handling is the one in which the two morphs have the same or nearly the same meaning and different phonemic shapes. Here both possibilities i.e. of regarding them as allomorphs or morphemes present themselves and it often becomes a nice point to decide between the two alternatives.

If it were possible to handle the criterion of the sameness of meaning with the same accuracy as the sameness of phonemic shape and distribution, the problem would have been solved on the level of a postulate.

As we agree not to have synonymous morphemes, they would have to be regarded as allomorphs, whatever their distribution. But because we cannot handle the criterion of meaning with the same precision as the facts of distribution, we proceed to decide cases of this nature more on distributional facts than on the consideration of sameness of meaning.

Theoretically two morphs can be either in complimentary distribution or in contrast (which, with the sameness of meaning comes to mean free variation) or in partial complementary distribution, (overlapping over a small range of their occurrence). We can imagine each one of these possibilities as showing either sameness of meaning or a close similarity of meaning. Of the six cases thus suggested we can consider two examples of each showing a radically different nature and leading to different results.

If the two morphs are in contrast throughout their occurrence and have exactly the same meaning, like the two pronunciations of a word like *economics*[1] or Sanskrit *kośa* or *koṣa*, they are obviously in free variation and constitute one morpheme, and it is a matter of mere terminology whether to call the two pronunciations allomorphs or not. If it is a question of two phonemically distinct bases like Sanskrit *mahī* or *pṛthvī*, either we can consider them as synonymous morphemes by neglecting the difference in the meaning as being irrelevant or think of some subtle difference of meaning and consider them as two different morphemes.[2] But what we are not inclined to do in such cases is to regard them as allomorphs of the same morpheme, however close their meaning, if their phonemic shape is quite different. If however these morphs are of an inflectional nature their sameness of meaning would lead us to consider them as allomorphs of the same morpheme, as, for example, the Nom. pl. inflections *-ās* and *-āsas* in Vedic Sanskrit. The meaning of the inflections being of a purely grammatical nature, the situation of a similar meaning as against the sameness of meaning is not likely to occur.

If the two morphs are in complimentary distribution we can consider the cases of identical meaning in base morphemes and inflectional morphemes together. In both cases they will be considered as allomorphs. The most usual cases of allomorphs come under this category and can be easily illustrated. But if the meaning of the morphs is only similar, we rule out the case of inflectional morphemes for the reason that it is

1. HARRIS: *Methods in Structural Linguistics*. p. 198.
2. NIDA: *Morphology*. p. 151.
3. HARRIS: Morpheme Alternants in Linguistic Analysis, *Language* 18, pp. 169-180.

difficult to imagine a mere similarity of meaning in a grammatical category. In the case of base morphs, however, we consider them as different morphemes as in the example of *score* and *twenty*[3]. It is important to note that even if we can make ourselves believe that they have exactly the same meaning and a perfectly complementary distribution, we are disinclined to regard them as allomorphs. The less concrete the meaning the more probability there is to consider them as allomorphs as in Sanskrit *sa-ḥ* and *t-ena.*

In the cases of near complimentation the situation becomes more uncertain. With two base morphs with the same meaning and near complimentary distribution, opinion may be divided, some considering them as allomorphs and others as different morphemes. In the same situation two inflectional morphs will be always regarded as allomorphs and not as different morphemes[4] as in the case of Sanskrit Inst. sg - *nā* and *-ā* in Masculine adjectives ending in *-u ; madhunā, madhvā.* If the two morphs have similar meaning we find an exactly reverse situation. With base morphs like *horse* and *nag* we consider them as different morphemes, but with inflections we may either regard them as allomorphs as in the case of *brother-s* and *brethr-en*[5]. There is however a general disinclination to attribute a difference of meaning to the two forms of an inflectional unit, and even with a slight difference of connotation they will be considered as allomorphs.

This brief review of the six possible situations reveals one important general tendency. In spite of the vagueness of the criterion of meaning, the inflectional morphs will be all along regarded as allomorphs, whether they are in free variation, complementary distribution or near complemention. But in exactly parallel situations, the tendency is to consider two base morphs as different morphemes and not allomorphs of each other, except in the case of phonologically varying bases in complimentary distribution. Thus the real basis to decide whether two morphs are allomorphs or different morphemes, in most cases, appears to be whether they are base morphs or inflectional morphs, which distinction ultimately rests on the type of meaning they convey.

4. Hockett : Problems of Morphemic Analysis. *Lg.* 23 pp. 321-343.

5. Cf. Hockett : Two Models of Grammatical Description, *Word,* 10 p. 111. Nida : The Identification of Morphemes. *Lg.* 24 pp. 414-441.

PURVAMĪMĀṀSĀSŪTRA, BRAHMASŪTRA, JAIMINI, VYĀSA AND BĀDARĀYAṆA*

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*[The following abbreviations have been used in this paper : ABORI — Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona ; Āśv. gṛ-s. — Āśvalāyana gṛhya-sūtra ; Bom. S.S. or B.S.S. — Bombay Sanskrit Series ; Br. S. — Brahmasūtra ; H. of Dh. — History of Dharmaśāstra ; J. O. R. — Journal of Oriental Research ; Jai — Jaimini ; PMS — Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra (Ānandāśrama ed.) ; Śaṅ — Śaṅkarācārya ; TSS — Trivandrum Sanskrit Series ; Ślokavā — Ślokavārtika of Kumārila.]

There are very difficult and controversial questions about the authorship of the *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra* and of the *Brahmasūtra* and their relation to one another. The *Prapañcahṛdaya* (*TSS* pp. 38-39) states : The whole Veda is divided into the *pūrva* section and the *uttara* section (*kāṇḍa*) and the *Mīmāṁsāśāstra* is concerned with the consideration of the import of all the texts of the Veda so divided, that *Mīmāṁsāśāstra* comprises twenty chapters, out of which the *Pūrvamīmāṁsāśāstra* consisting of sixteen chapters is devoted to the consideration of Dharma, the subject matter of the first section of the Veda, and was composed by Jaimini, that the *Uttaramīmāṁsā* is different from it, comprises four chapters devoted to the consideration of Brahma, the subject matter of the latter section (of the Veda), and was composed by Vyāsa. The work proceeds : Bodhāyana composed a *bhāṣya* named *Kṛtakoṭi* on the *Mīmāṁsāśāstra* comprising twenty chapters, that *Kṛtakoṭi* was abridged by Upavarṣa, but as even the work of Upavarṣa could not be comprehended by men of little intelligence, Devasvāmin wrote a very brief commentary on the *Pūrvamīmāṁsāśāstra* consisting of sixteen chapters, that Bhavadāsa[1] also wrote a *bhāṣya* on the work of Jaimini.

1. The *Ślokavārtika* (*Pratijñāsūtra* v. 63) expressly names Bhavadāsa as a commentator on *PMS*. The *Kāśikā* on the same remarks that Bhavadāsa explained '*athātaḥ*' as meaning '*ānantarya*' and the *Nyāyaratnākara* on *Ślokavā*. (*Pratijñāsūtra* 33) says that the taunt administered by Śabara refers to this explanation of Bhavadāsa and the *Kāśikā* agrees with this. Therefore, it appears that Bhavadāsa preceded Śabara. Vide *ABORI* X, pp. 153-54 (1929) for this author's paper

From Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* we learn that the Vṛttikāra[2] on *Brahmasūtra* held that the *Brahmasūtra* formed one entire *śāstra* with Jaimini's work in sixteen chapters. The twenty chapters are made up as follows: twelve chapters (each divided into four *pādas* except chap. III, chap. VI and chap. X, each of which has eight *pādas*, in all 60 *pādas*) ascribed to Jaimini, four chapters called *Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa* and four chapters ascribed to Vyāsa (in *Prapañcahṛdaya* quoted above). The twelve chapters often called *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* (or *Karmamīmāṁsā*) are an extensive work comprising, according to various calculations and statements, from 915 to 1000 *adhikaraṇas* (topics for discussion) and about 2700 *sūtras*. When the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* enumerates fourteen *vidyāsthānas* including *Mīmāṁsā*, it probably refers to the work of Jaimini in twelve chapters. Śaṅkarācārya refers to the twelve chapters of Jaimini as '*dvādaśalakṣaṇī*' in his *bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III. 3.26, as '*prathama-tantra*' in *bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III. 3.25, III. 4.27), as '*prathamakāṇḍa*' or *pūrvakāṇḍa* in *bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III. 3. 1, 33, 44, 50, as '*pramāṇalakṣaṇa*' in *bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III. 3.53, III. 4.42 ; on *Brahmasūtra* III. 3.53 Śaṅkarācārya speaks of the first *pāda* of the PMS as '*śāstrapramukha eva prathame pāde*' and thereby suggests that he was not averse to the view that the two *Mīmāṁsās* formed one whole. Several writers such as Mādhavācārya[3] regard the *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* as comprising only twelve chapters and *Uttaramīmāṁsā* as the *Brahmasūtra* in four chapters.

Before proceeding further, attention must be drawn to some striking matters. Though the number of *sūtras* (555) in the *Brahmasūtra* is only about one-fifth of the total number of *sūtras* in the *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra*, the number of references to the individual views of predecessors in the *Brahmasūtra* is comparatively far larger (32 times) than individual references in the other *sūtra* work (only 27 times). Further, it may be noted that the *Brahmasūtra* mentions the views of Jaimini by name eleven times, and the views of Bādarāyaṇa nine times. On the other hand, the PMS mentions the views of Jaimini and of Bādarāyaṇa only five times in each case. The question therefore arises whether the authors of the two *sūtras* were contemporaries and if they were not so, what the relation between the two was. Scholars are generally agreed that they were not

on Bhavadāsa, Dr. Umesha MISHRA's Appendix to M. M. JHA's '*Mīmāṁsā in its Sources*' pp. 16-17 (1942).

2. *tadāha vṛttikāraḥ / vṛttāt karmādhigamād anantaraṁ brahmavividiṣeti / vakṣyati ca/ karmabrahmamīmāṁsayor aikaśāstryaṁ saṁhitam etacchārīrakaṁ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśalakṣaṇeneti / Śrībhāṣya*, p. 2. (*Bom.S.S.*).

3. *ye pūrvottaramīmāṁse te vyākhyāyātisaṅgrahāt /*
kṛpālur mādhavācāryo vedārthaṁ vaktum udyataḥ //
Intro. verse 4 to *Ṛgvedabhāṣya* (Poona ed.). Some Mss. read '*Sāyaṇācāryo*' for '*Mādhavācāryo*'.

contemporaries. There is a tradition of some antiquity in the *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*,[4] according to which Jaimini was a pupil of Pārāśarya Vyāsa and between Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa intervened three generations of pupils one after another. The Mahābhārata[5] in the Ādi, Sabhā and Śānti parvans narrates that Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila, Vaiśampāyana, and Śuka (son of Vyāsa) were the five pupils of Vyāsa, whom he taught the Vedas and the Mahābhārata ; the Purāṇas frequently declare that Vyāsa Pārāśarya, called Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, arranged the one entire Veda into four branches viz. *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda* and taught them respectively to Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu. Vide *Vāyu* 60.11-16, *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 34.11-16 (both almost in the same words), *Viṣṇu* III. 4.7-10, *Kūrma* I. 51.48 and 52.48, *Padma* V. 1.43 ; *Viṣṇu* II. 4.5, *Bhāgavata* I. 4.14-25 and XII. 6.69-80 and *Nāradīya* I. 1.18 identify him with *Nārāyaṇa ; Vāyu*. 60.11 states that he was *aṁśa* of *Viṣṇu* and was called Pārāśarya and Dvaipāyana. *Ādiparva* 60.2, 5 and 105.14 explain why he was called Vyāsa and Kṛṣṇa. The above passages from several works establish that several centuries before the Christian era Jaimini's was an honoured name connected with the *Sāmaveda*.

Several scholars have mentioned or examined the references to the views of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa in the PMS and the *Br. S.* Prof. K. A.

4. *so'yaṁ prājāpatyo vidhis tam imaṁ prajāpatir bṛhaspataye bṛhaspatir-nāradāya nārado viṣvaksenāya, viṣvakseno vyāsāya pārāśaryāya, vyāsaḥ pārāśaryo jaiminaye jaiminiḥ pauṣpiṇḍyāya pauṣpiṇḍyaḥ pārāśaryāyaṇāya pārāśaryāyaṇo bādarāyaṇāya bādarāyaṇas tāṇḍiśāṭyāyānibhyāṁ° / Sāmavidhānabrāh.* (at end). The *Nyāyaratnākara* on *Ślokavā.* (*Pratijñāsūtra* verse 23) sets out the *guru-paramparā* of PMS as Brahmā —Prajāpati — Indra — Āditya — Vasiṣṭha — Parāśara — Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana — Jaimini. The com. *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī* (*Choukhamba SS*) p. 8 gives two similar *gurukramas* slightly differing from the *Sāmavidhāna°* and from one another. The *gurukrama* up to Vasiṣṭha is legendary and practically worthless.

5. *Bako dālbhyaḥ sthūlaśirāḥ kṛṣṇadvaipāyanaḥ śukaḥ /*
sumantur jaiminiḥ pailo vyāsaśiṣyās tathā vayaṁ //
Sabhāparva 4.11 (—Cr. ed: 4.9).
Vedān adhyāpayāmāsa vyāsaḥ śiṣyān mahātapāḥ /
sumantuṁ ca mahābhāgaṁ vaiśaṁpāyanam eva ca /
jaiminim ca mahāprājñaṁ pailaṁ cāpi tapasvinaṁ /
Śāntiparva 328.26-27 (—Cr. ed. 314.23-24).
vayaṁ and *ahaṁ* are words of Vaiśaṁpāyana. It may be noted that in the daily *tarpaṇa* the four pupils, Sumantu etc. are mentioned in the *Āśv. gr. s.* Vide H. of Dh. II, p. 691. KEITH in his '*Karmamīmāṁsā*' (p. 7) draws the plausible conclusion that the *Mīmāṁsasūtra* does not date after 200 A.D. but that it is probably not much earlier, since otherwise it would have been natural to find in the Mahābhārata some reference to it and to its author. This is a fine example of the way in which Western scholars of Sanskrit argue from mere silence to positive conclusions. The Mahābhārata was not intended to be a history of Sanskrit Literature and, besides, Jaimini is several times mentioned by the Mahābhārata as a pupil of Vyāsa.

Nilakanta SASTRI contributed an interesting and valuable paper on this subject to the *Indian Antiquary*[6] vol. 50 pp. 167-174 and arrived at the somewhat startling conclusion that there were three Jaiminis as authors and two Bādarāyaṇas. Dr. T. R. CHINTAMANI (on p. 14 of the supplement to the *JOR* Madras, Vol. XI), agrees with Prof. Nilkanta SASTRI that the Jaimini of PMS VI. 3.1 (according to *Śābarabhāṣya* in B.I. edition) and of VI. 3.4 is different from the Jaimini mentioned in other places in PMS. It is necessary to make an independent examination of the views of Jaimini mentioned in the PMS and *Br. S.* In the PMS the views of Jaimini are expressly set out only five times, viz. in III. 1.4, VI. 3.4, VIII. 3.7, IX. 2.39 and XII. 1.7. A *sūtra*[7] is required to be concise and yet definite (free from doubt or confusion) and to contain substantial matter and to have a wide application and it should be without unnecessary words and should be faultless. Commonsense requires that the PMS must be deemed to refer in the above five places to only one person called Jaimini. If two different Jaiminis were intended to be meant in the references to Jaimini by the extant PMS, one expects that some warning or clear indication to that effect would have been afforded by the author of the extant PMS itself.

Prof. Nilakanta SASTRI admits that in four out of the five cases Jaimini's views are the *siddhānta* view and that the Jaimini whose views are cited in those four cases is one and the same. But he argues that the Jaimini in VI. 3.4 is different from the Jaimini whose views are the *siddhānta* in the other four cases. Two of these four cases are rather remarkable in that both (IX. 2.39 and XII. 1.7)[8] are single *sūtra adhikaranas* (according to Śabara and others) and the *pūrvapakṣa* has to be supplied by the commentators. In III. 1.4 Jaimini's view is the *siddhānta* view and is opposed to the view of Bādari[9], who holds that only the three viz. substance, quality (such as the redness in a cow to be offered as price for purchasing *soma* plant) and *saṁskāras* (acts that make a thing fit for some ritual purpose, such as pounding of rice grains with mortar and pestle) are to be called *śeṣa*, while Jaimini holds that *yāgas* also are included under *śeṣa* (as subservient to the fruit '*svarga*' or any other). In

6. I regret to state that I have to differ from him in several of his conclusions on p. 172, that he is wrong in what he says about Bādarāyaṇa's view in *Br. S.* I. 1.5 and he has not considered much other material relating to Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa.

7. *alpākṣaram asaṅdigdhaṁ sāravadviśvatomukhaṁ /*
astobham anavadyaṁ ca sūtraṁ sūtravido viduḥ //
Vāyupurāṇa 59.142, *Brahmāṇḍa* II.33.58.

8. *adhikaṁ ca vivarṇaṁ ca jaiminiḥ stobhaśabdatvāt* / PMS IX. 2.39 ;
jaimineḥ paratantrāpatteḥ svatantrapratiṣedhaḥ syāt / XII.1.7.

9. *dravyaguṇasaṁskāreṣu bādariḥ / karmāṇy api jaiminiḥ phalārthatvāt* /
PMSIII. 1.3-4.

VIII. 3.7 Jaimini's is the *siddhānta* view as opposed to Bādari's, which is the *pūrvapakṣa* view. IX. 2.39 is a single *sūtra* containing the *siddhānta* view defining what is meant by *stobha*. The *sūtra* XII. 1.7 is a single *sūtra* stating Jaimini's view as *siddhānta* that in *paśupuroḍāśa* the two *ājyabhāgas* must be offered. Thus in the four *sūtras* in which Jaimini's views are accepted as *siddhānta* two are single *sūtra adhikaraṇas* and in two his views are opposed to Bādari's.

The *adhikaraṇa* VI. 3.1-7 is concerned with the question[10] whether a person has *adhikāra* for performing obligatory rites like Agnihotra (ordained by "*yāvajjīvam-agnihotram juhoti*") or Darśapūrṇamāsa when he is able to perform only some of the *aṅgas* and not all the *aṅgas* (subsidiary acts). The first *sūtra* states the *prima facie* view that he alone is entitled to engage in such obligatory rites as Agnihotra who is able to perform all subsidiary acts in their entirety.

If this *pūrvapakṣa* was the view of Jaimini, his name should have been mentioned here in the *sūtra* itself (and not in *sūtra* 4). But in Śabara's *bhāsya* on the first *sūtra* the words '*jaiminir-manyate sma*' are added at the end of the *bhāṣya* (as in B. I. edition and in *Ānandāśrama* edition which notes that some mss. do not contain those words). The 2nd *sūtra* states the *siddhānta* view that, since the purpose is effected by the performance of the principal rite, a person should perform the obligatory rite even if he can carry out only a part of the subsidiary acts, the latter kind of acts being meant for the principal rite and being merely secondary to it. The third *sūtra* emphasizes the *siddhānta* view by stating that non-performance of the principal obligatory rite is declared by *Śruti*

10. *sarvaśaktau pravṛttiḥ syāt tathābhūtopadeśāt* /
api vāpyekadeśe syāt pradhāne hy arthanivṛttir guṇamātraṁ itarattadarthatvāt / *tadakarmaṇi ca doṣas tasmāt tato viśeṣaḥ syāt pradhānenābhisaṁbandhāt* / *karmābhedaṁ tu jaiminiḥ prayogavacanaikatvātsarveṣām upadeṣaḥ syād iti*/ *arthasya vyapavargitvād ekasyāpi prayoge syād yathā kratvantareṣu*/ *vidhyaparādhe ca darśanāt samāpteḥ* / *prāyaścittavidhānāc ca* / PMS. VI. 3.1-7.
On the 5th *sūtra* Śabara explains *vyapavṛktam aṅgebhyaḥ pradhānaṁ* / . . . . *yac cāgnihotraṁ tad iha codyate kartavyatayā yau ca darśapūrṇamāsau* / *tasmādviguṇamapi kartavyamevāgnihotraṁ darśapūrṇamāsau ca* / *yathākratvantareṣu prakṛti-vikṛtiṣu parasya dharmāḥ parasya na bhavanti evaṁ na kāmasaṁyuktasya dharmā nityasya bhavitum arhanti*'/ Dr. RAGHAVAN kindly informs me that the *Adhvaramīmāṁsā-kutūhalavṛtti* of Vāsudeva-dīkṣita (Ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library) reads '*karmabhedam*' for '*karmābhedam*' in *sūtra* 4 and '*arthavyapavargitvāt*' in *sūtra* 5. For the meaning of *upadeśa* in VI.3.4 compare I.1.5 "*autpattikas tu śabdasyārthena saṁbandhas tasya jñānam upadeśaḥ*" etc. It may be stated that in a complete and well-written Ms of *Śābarabhāṣya* in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library (ZZA 18, p. 317 of Prof. VELANKAR's Cat.) the words '*jaiminir manyate sma*' at end of *bhāṣya* on VI.3.1 are omitted.

to lead to an undesirable result and a special result is associated with the principal rite. Then comes the 4th *sūtra* in which Jaimini's name appears. That *sūtra* should be interpreted as follows: whether one performs the principal rite carrying out all subsidiary acts or only a few such acts, there is no difference in the rite (it is the Agnihotra or Darśapūrṇamāsa all the same), the Śruti text enjoining the performance of Darśapūrṇamāsa or Agnihotra is only one, in order that all subsidiary acts may be performed. The idea is that if it were meant that a person should have *adhikāra* for Agnihotra only if throughout his life he should carry out all subsidiary acts in their entirety no one would undertake such *nitya* rites as Agnihotra. There is no doubt that *sūtras* 5-7 support the *siddhānta* view contained in the 2nd and 3rd *sūtras*. If the 4th *sūtra* was one of *pūrvapakṣa*, then in the 5th *sūtra* one expects some such words as '*api vā*' as in *sūtra* 2. Śabara's *bhāṣya* on *sūtra* 4 is very brief (as set out below). But as far as it goes it supports the interpretation given above, viz. that the Vedic text laying down the performance is one. It may be noted that in the *bhāṣya* on *sūtras* 2 and 3 there are no words corresponding to '*yaduktam nāsti bheda . . . pradhānānīti*' in *bhāṣya* on VI. 3.4[11]. Therefore, *sūtra* 4 is not the *pūrvapakṣa* replying to the *siddhānta* in *sūtras* 2 and 3. It appears that the author of the present PMS had a work of Jaimini before him, which probably conveyed that the *Śruti* text (*upadeśa*) is only one and enjoins the performance of all *aṅgas* but also said that whether a few subsidiary acts are performed or all of them are performed there is no difference in the principal rite (*karmābheda*). The *Ṭup-ṭīkā* unfortunately does not separately comment on each of the *sūtras*, but it omits in its explanation the name of Jaimini and conveys no hint that the 4th *sūtra* contains the *pūrvapakṣa*. Its concluding[12] sentences appear to support the explanation of the 4th *sūtra* advanced above. Prof. Nilakanta SASTRI's reasons for holding that the Jaimini in VI. 3.4 is different from the Jaimini in four other places are three: (I) PMS VI. 3.1 is the *pūrvapakṣa* and Śabara's *bhāṣya* thereon ends with the words 'so thinks (said) Jaimini', though Jaimini's name does not occur in the *sūtra* itself. (II) VI. 3.4 re-iterate the view of VI. 3.1 and expressly names Jaimini (that VI. 3.4 is capable of another meaning altogether has been shown above at length); (III) that Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on VI. 3.1 mentions Jaimini without the addition of any qualify-

11. *yaduktaṁ nāsti bheda imāny aṅgāni imāni pradhānānīti / prayogavacanaikatvād iti jaiminir āha sma / sarveṣām upadeśakaḥ paurnamāsyāṁ paurṇamāsyā yajeta, amāvāsyāyāmamāvāsyayā yajeteti /* Śabara on VI.3-4.

12. *tasmādyatra yatra vidhāyakastatra tatra karaṇatā / nityepyasau vidyate / vyapadeśaśca (upadeśaśca?) kartavyatvādavaśyakartavyatvāt / evaṁ ca sāṅgaṁ yāvajjīvaṁ na śaknoti kaścidapi kartumiti kṛtvā yāvacchaknuyādityupanibadhyate/* Ṭup - ṭīkā.

ing word like '*ācārya*' which he applies to Jaimini in other cases. This third reason is of very doubtful value. In IX. 2.39 the word Jaimini occurs in the *sūtra*, but in the *bhāṣya* the word Jaimini is not repeated and therefore no qualification like '*ācārya*' is prefixed there. Besides, the non-application of a qualifying word in one out of four references in Śabara's *bhāṣya* is too slender a ground to support the conclusion that the Jaimini named in VI. 3.4 is different from the Jaimini mentioned four times in the PMS. Moreover, the usages of *ācāryas* about the employment of qualifying words like '*ācārya*' or '*bhagavat*' are not uniform. Śabara himself speaks of Jaimini without the epithet on I. 1.5 (p. 52) '*ata upapannam jaimini-vacanam—ākṛtiḥ śabdārtha iti*'. *Kumārila*[13] does not in some cases apply the epithet '*ācārya*' or '*bhagavān*' to Jaimini and in one place charges Jaimini with composing *sūtras* containing not much substance[14].

In the *Brahmasūtra* the eleven *sūtras* in which Jaimini is named are *Br. S.* I. 2.28, I. 2.31, I. 3.31, I. 4.18, III. 2.40, III. 4.2, III. 4.18, III. 4.40, IV. 3.12, IV. 4.5, IV. 4.11. Although Jaimini propounds many propositions in these *sūtras* not acceptable to the author of *Br. S.* or to Śaṅkarācārya, the latter employs the qualification '*ācārya*' in all except on III. 4.40, where he does not employ the honorific epithet '*ācārya*' both for Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa[15]. No one has argued that, because the word '*ācārya*' is not used in qualifying Bādarāyaṇa mentioned in the *bhāṣya* on Br. S. III. 4.40, the Bādarāyaṇa mentioned in the *bhāṣya* on *Br. S.* III. 4.40 is different from the Bādarāyaṇa mentioned in the several *sūtras* of *Br. S.*

What is maintained here is that PMS *sūtra* VI. 3.4 does not contain the *pūrvapakṣa* view, that the author of the PMS mentions another Jaimini's view on *nitya* rites probably in the latter's own words, that PMS

13. *vakṣyati hi* '*puruṣaś ca karmārthatvāt*' *iti jaiminiḥ* on PMS. III.1.1, p. 648; on PMS. II.1.46 '*atrābhidhīyate vedavyākhyānapravṛttasya jaimineḥ kaḥ prasaṅgo laukikavākyalakṣaṇābhidhāne* / *Tantravā*. p. 443.

14. *santi ca jaiminer evaṁ-prakārāṇy anatyanta-sārabhūtāni sūtrāṇi* / *Tantravā*. p. 895 after III. 4.9; Śabara himself on PMS. V. 2.18 speaks of Ātreya without any qualifying epithet, but on PMS vi. 1.26 calls him '*muni*'.

15. *Brahmasūtra* III. 4.40 is: *tadbhūtasya tu nātadbhāvo jaiminer api niyamātadrūpābhāvebhyaḥ*. On this the *bhāṣya* is '*jaiminer apīty apiśabdena jaiminibādarāyaṇayor atra sampratipattim śāsti pratipattidārḍhyāya*'. This indicates that, according to Śaṅkarācārya, Bādarāyaṇa is the author of Br. S. III. 4.40 (in which Bādarāyaṇa is not named at all) and therefore of the whole of the *Brahmasūtra*. It may be noted that Śaṅkarācārya names both these great sages in his *bhāṣya* on Br. S. IV. 1.17 and affixes the word '*ācārya*' to both Jamini and Bādarāyaṇa '*tathājātīyakasya kāmyasya karmaṇo vidyāṁ praty anupakārakatve saṁpratipattir ubhayor api jaiminibādarāyaṇayor ācāryayoḥ*'.

does not think that Jaimini in VI. 3.4 held a different view from its own and that so far as the extant PMS is concerned there are only two Jaiminis (viz. the reputed author of the present PMS and another Jaimini whose views are mentioned five times). If it were argued that there is only one Jaimini (and not two), a serious difficulty arises. Why should the author refer to his own views by name in his own work ? The usual explanation given by commentators when Pāṇini names his predecessors is that it is to show reverence as in '*kāśyapagrahaṇam pūjārtham*' (in *Mahābhāṣya* on *Pān.* I. 2.25) and by Śabara in several places and by Viśvarūpa. This explanation[16] would be of no avail here, since the author cannot be said to show respect to himself. Another explanation that it is the practice of ancient authors to speak about themselves in the third person will not do. No explanation has been offered by any commentator why in five cases only out of about 2700 *sūtras* Jaimini's name is mentioned if he was the author of the extant PMS. Therefore, one is compelled to hold that, if Jaimini is the author of the extent PMS, there was a predecessor and namesake of his called Jaimini who had expressed his views in a work.

The eleven *sūtras* in the *Br. S.* in which Jaimini's views are set out must now be briefly considered. (1 and 2) *Br. S.* I. 2.28 and 31 (*sākṣād apy avirodham jaiminiḥ* and '*sampatter iti Jaiminiḥ*') refer to the interpretation of '*vaiśvānara*' in the '*vaiśvānaropāsanā*' of *Chān. Up.* V. 18.1-2 ; (3) *Br. S.* I. 3.31 concerns the view of Jaimini (differing from Bādarāyaṇa) that gods have no *adhikāra* for '*madhuvidyā*' of *Ch. Up.* III. 1.1 ; (4) *Br. S.* I. 4.18 refers to Jaimini's view as regards a passage in the *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad* (4. 18-19) ; (5) *Br. S.* III. 2. 40 states that according to Jaimini, *dharma* confers the fruits or rewards of religious acts (and not *Īśvara* as *Br. S.* III. 2.38 and Bādarāyaṇa in III. 2.41 hold) ; (6) *Br. S.* III. 4.2 expresses Jaimini's view that such passages as *Tai. Up.* II. 1.1. (*brahmavid-āpnoti param*) and *Bṛ. Up.* IV. 5. 15 are merely *arthavādas*, while the *Br. S.* is opposed to this ; (7) *Br. S.* III. 4.18[17] contains Jaimini's view that the Veda does not prescribe the order of *saṁnyāsa* but makes only a passing reference to it, while the author of *Br. S.* holds that there is a *vidhi* and

16. '*bādarāyaṇagrahaṇaṁ bādarāyaṇasyedaṁ mataṁ kīrtyate bādarāyaṇaṁ pūjayituṁ nātmīyaṁ mataṁ paryudasituṁ* / Śabara on PMS. I.1.5 p. 5 ; *bādarāyaṇagrahaṇaṁ kīrtyarthaṁ, naikīyamatārthaṁ* / Śabara on XI.1.65 ; '*kintu bhagavataiva (yājñavalkyena) parokṣīkṛtyātmā nirdiśyate svapraśaṁsāniṣedhāt / yadi hi 'māṁ yogīśvaraṁ', 'ahaṁ yogīśvara' iti brūyāt tadātmastutir āpadyeta* / Viśvarūpa on *Yāj.* 1.2.

17. *Brahmasūtra* III.4.1-17 form an extensive *adhikaraṇa* in which Bādarāyaṇa is named twice (III.4.1 and 8) and though the *siddhānta* view is the one assigned to Bādarāyaṇa, nine more *sūtras* are added rebutting the arguments of the *prima facie* view.

Bādarāyaṇa says simply that other *āśramas* must be resorted to. (8) Jaimini's view in *Br. S.* III. 4. 40 is that, having once entered upon *saṁnyāsa* one cannot give it up and revert to another *āśrama* (here *Br. S.* agrees) ; (9) *Br. S.* IV. 3.12 puts forward Jaimini's view that in *Ch. Up.* IV. 15.6 (*sa enān brahma gamayati*) it is the highest Brahma that is meant (Bādari in IV. 3.7 and *Br. S.* IV. 3.8-11 being opposed to this view); (10) According to *Br. S.* IV. 4.5 Jaimini held that the individual soul attains *brahmarūpa* ; Bādarāyaṇa (in IV. 4.7) held that there was no real conflict between Jaimini's and Auḍulomi's opinions ; (11) *Br. S.* cites Jaimini's view (in IV. 4.11) that the released soul may have a body as opposed to Bādari's opinion (in IV. 4.10), while Bādarāyaṇa states that both views are supported by Upaniṣad passages.

Out of these eleven passages from *Br. S.*, as regards six, viz. I. 2.28 and 31, I. 4.18, IV. 3.12, IV. 4.5, IV. 4.11 it is clear that there is no *adhikaraṇa* or *sūtra* in the PMS which can be shown to correspond with the views attributed to Jaimini in *Br. S.*, while III. 2.40, III. 4.2, III. 4.18 attribute views to Jaimini which are well-known doctrines in the PMS. Therefore, it appears that the Jaimini who expressed views on purely Vedantic topics had composed a work on Vedānta.

Consideration has to be given to the nine *sūtras* of the *Br. S.* in which Bādarāyaṇa is named. They are : *Br. S.* I. 3.26 and 33 (Bādarāyaṇa being twice named in the same *adhikaraṇa* as opposed to Jaimini)), III. 4.1 and 8 (Bādarāyana being mentioned twice in the same *adhikaraṇa* as opposed to Jaimini), III.2.41 (Bādarāyaṇa opposed to Jaimini)[18], III.4.19 (Bādarāyaṇa opposed to Jaimini), IV. 3.15 (Bādarāyaṇa alone named), IV.4.7 (Bādarāyaṇa holds that there is no real conflict between the views of Jaimini and Auḍulomi), IV.4.12 (Bādarāyaṇa holds that both Jaimini and Bādari are supported by Upaniṣad passages.)

It may be noted that in most of these cases Bādarāyaṇa's views are generally opposed to Jaimini's. Prof. Nilakanta SASTRI thinks that all the views mentioned as Bādarāyaṇa's are the views of the author of the *Br. S.* who employs the third person for himself as ancient authors often do (vide *IA* vol. 50 at p. 169). This does not afford a satisfactory explanation of the

18. It may be noted that in III.2.38 the *siddhānta* is first mentioned that it is *Iśvara* that confers the fruits of actions, that then in III.2.40 Jaimini's view is mentioned that *dharma* (or *apūrva*) confers the fruit, and then follows the *sūtra* III.2.41 '*pūrvam tu Bādarāyaṇo hetuvyapadeśāt*'; the word '*pūrvam*' refers to the word '*ataḥ*' in '*phalam - ata upapatteḥ*'. This suggests that the *sūtrakāra* first put forward his view, then mentioned Jaimini's view and followed up by citing Bādarāyaṇa's view, which is the same as in III.2.38, the difference being that the *sūtrakāra* relied on '*upapatti*' for his view while Bādarāyaṇa relied on '*hetuvyapadeśa*' (in *śruti* and *smṛti*). This *adhikaraṇa* goes a long way in indicating that the Bādarāyaṇa mentioned here is different from the *sūtrakāra*.

question why it was necessary to invoke Bādarāyaṇa's name in nine cases only for buttressing up the positions of the author (Bādarāyaṇa being regarded as the author of the *Br. S.* which has 555 *sūtras*). If the author of the *Br. S.* and Bādarāyaṇa named nine times are identical, the name of Bādarāyaṇa should ordinarily appear at the end of an *adhikaraṇa* and not in the middle. In several cases where Bādarāyaṇa is named, the extant *Br. S.* gives further explanations and additions. For example, after quoting Bādarāyaṇa's view that all *āśramas* including *saṁnyāsa* should be resorted to, the current *Br. S.* adds '*vidhir vā dhāraṇavat*' (*Br. S.* III. 4.20) which means that 'it is a *vidhi* (exhortation) like the holding of a fuel stick above'[19]. Again, after quoting Bādarāyaṇa's view (on *Ch. Up.* VIII. 2.1-5) that it is like Dvādaśāha (which is both a *sattra* and also *ahīna*) two *sūtras* are added in current *Br. S.* IV.4.13-14. Therefore, it is far more satisfactory to hold that the present *Br. S.* had before it a *sūtra* work of Bādarāyaṇa on Vedānta.

Lastly, we have to consider the five citations of Bādarāyaṇa's views in the PMS: (1) In PMS I.1.5 the author claims that he and Bādarāyaṇa are at one on the question of the eternality and infallibility of the Veda; (2) In PMS V.2.17-20 there is a discussion on '*nakṣatreṣṭi*'. In the model sacrifice there are certain *homas* called Nāriṣṭhahomas; the question is whether, when in the modifications of the model sacrifice certain subordinate homas called Upahomas are prescribed, the Nāriṣṭhahomas precede or follow the Upahomas. The *siddhānta* is that Nāriṣṭhahomas precede, Ātreya holding the opposite view and Bādarāyaṇa supporting the *siddhānta*; (3) In PMS VI.1.8 Bādarāyaṇa's view that not only a man but a woman also is entitled to take part in *kratu* (Vedic sacrifice) is the *siddhānta*; (4) PMS X.8.35-46 is an extensive *adhikaraṇa* in which the question is whether the texts prescribing Āgneya and Aindrāgna *puroḍāśas* in Darśapūrṇamāsa for a sacrificer who has not performed Somayāga constitute a *vidhi* (of the two) or are only an *anuvāda*,

19. The *Tantravārtika* notes after the *nivītādhikaraṇa* (III.4.1-9) that Śabara dropped six *sūtras* (p. 895 of the *Ānandāśrama* ed.) and it explains those *sūtras*, the last (6th) being '*vidhirvā dhāraṇe apūrvatvāt*' which interprets the Vedic passage 'he should follow holding a fuel stick underneath (the ladle), for the priest holds it above in the rites for gods.' Although here the present form is used and although the word '*hi*' (which expresses a reason) occurs (and so it may be argued that this sentence is only an *anuvāda*), the conclusion established is that this sentence lays down a vidhi viz. that in a *homa pitṛs* a fuel stick for should be held underneath the handle of the ladle, while in rites for gods the fuel stick should be held above the ladle (i.e. there is a vidhi for holding the fuel stick above the handle of the ladle in rites for the gods). In his *bhāṣya* on Br. S. III.4.20 Śaṅkarācārya quotes the PMS '*vidhis tu dhāraṇe 'pūrvatvāt*' (which is on p. 897 of Tantravā.). As the *Bhāttacintāmaṇi* (on *Bhāttadīpikā*) says '*dṛśyate hi vidhir nityavad anuvādena kalpitaḥ upari hi devebhyo dhārayati iti*' (pp. 84-85 of MLJ edn., 1934).

Bādarāyaṇa's view being that it is a *vidhi* (in X. 8.44) and the *siddhānta* being that it is an *anuvāda* (in PMS X. 8.45) ; (5) PMS XI. 1.54-67 constitute a lengthy *adhikaraṇa* and the discussion concerns the question whether Āghāra and other *aṅgas* are to be repeated with each of the three principal matters in Darśa-Paurṇamāsa (such as Āgneya and others) or are to be performed only once (XI.1.65 is Bādarāyaṇa's view).

With regard to these five cases on which Bādarāyaṇa is cited in the PMS, three matters emerge, viz. the author of the PMS agrees with Bādarāyaṇa's views in all except in X. 8.44 (on which the two differ), that the view attributed to Bādarāyaṇa in PMS I. 1.5 corresponds with the view of the *Br. S.* (I. 3.28-29) and that four views out of five attributed to Bādarāyaṇa refer to purely sacrifical matters to which nothing corresponds in *Br. S.* It follows that the author of the present PMS had before him some work of Bādarāyaṇa in which *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* topics were dealt with, and that if Bādarāyaṇa be the author of the present *Br. S.*, he had composed a work on *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* or that there was another Bādarāyaṇa who wrote on *Pūrvamīmāṁsā*.

Another argument may be advanced that works by Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa did not exist before the existing PMS and *Br.S.* were composed, that the references to those two are made to views current in their schools. But this hypothesis does not appear to be likely. The extant PMS and *Br. S.* are meant for all men throughout Āryāvarta and it is not likely that the oral traditions of two schools were held to be known to all and sundry.

Then the question of the authorship of the *Brahmasūtras* has to be tackled. It has been seen (note 15 above) that, from Śaṅkarācārya's remarks on *Br.S.* III.4.40, it appears that he regarded Bādarāyaṇa as the author of the *Brahmasūtra*. The remarks[20] of Śaṅkarācārya in introducing the last *sūtra* in *Br. S.* make it perfectly clear that he regarded Bādarāyaṇa as the author of the present *Brahmasūtra*. Similarly, Bhāskara[21] begins his commentary on *Brahmasūtra* with an obeisance to Bādarāyaṇa as its author. The great Vācaspatimiśra who wrote *Bhāmatī*, the famous and erudite commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's *bhāṣya* and one of whose works, the *Nyāyasūcinibandha* was composed in 841 A.D. (or 976 A.D. according as Vikrama or Śaka era is accepted) holds Vedavyāsa to be the author of

20. *nanv evaṁ sati sātiśayavattvād antavattvam aiśvaryasya syāt tataś caiṣām-āvṛttiḥ prasajyetetyata uttaraṁ bhagavān bādarāyaṇa ācāryaḥ paṭhati — anāvṛttiḥ śabdāt / Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on *Br. S.* IV.4.22.

21. *janmabandhavinivṛttikāraṇaṁ brahmasūtramidaṁ udbabhau yataḥ / śrotṛcittakamalaikabhāskaraṁ bādarāyaṇam ṛṣim namāmi tam /*
Br. S. p. 1 (Bhāskara).

the *Brahmasūtra*[22]. But so far as Śaṅkarācārya himself is concerned it is clear that he distinguishes between Bādarāyaṇa and Vedavyāsa. For example, on *Br.S.* I.3.29 he quotes a verse[23] of Vedavyāsa from *Śāntiparva* in support of the proposition stated in the *Br.S.* that the Veda is eternal. Similarly, on *Br.S.* II.3.47, in support of the proposition that, though the individual soul is an *aṁśa* of the supreme self, the latter is not at all affected by the sufferings of the individual soul, Śaṅkarācārya quotes two verses of Vedavyāsa from the *Śāntiparva*. This makes it clear that, if the author of the *Brahmasūtra* was, in the opinion of Śaṅkarācārya, identical with Vedavyāsa, author of the Mahābhārata, he would not have cited the Mahābhārata as an independent *smṛti* source supporting the *Brahmasūtra* or would have at least employed some such language as 'this very author has said etc.' Yāmunamuni[24], the preceptor of the preceptor of Śrī-Rāmānujācārya, ascribes the *Brahmasūtra* to Bādarāyaṇa. Rāmānujācārya himself creates confusion. In the Introductory verse 2 of his *Śrībhāṣya* he speaks[25] of the *Brahmasūtra* as the nectarine words of Pārāśarya raised from the midst of the ocean of milk milked from the Upaniṣads. But in the *bhāṣya* on *Br. S.* II.2.42 Rāmānuja[26] states that the

22. *Brahmasūtrakṛte tasmai vedavyāsāya vedhase / jñānaśaktyavatārāya namo bhagavato hareḥ //*
Bhāmatī, 5th Introductory verse.

23. *ata eva ca nityatvam / Br. S.* I.3.29 ; *Śāṅkarabhāṣya "vedavyāsaścaivameva smarati / yugānte 'ntarhitān vedān setihāsān maharṣayaḥ / lebhire tapasā pūrvamanujñātāḥ svayambhuvā // iti"* This is *Śāntiparva* 210.19 (= Cr. ed. 203.17); *smaranti ca / Br. S.* II.3.47 ; *bhāṣya "smaranti ca vyāsādayo yathā jaivena duḥkhena na paramātmā duḥkhāyata iti / "tatra yaḥ paramātmā . . . padmapatram ivāmbhasā // karmātmā tvaparo . . . rāśinā yujyate punaḥ // iti"* These two verses are *Śantiparva* 352.14-16 (= Cr. ed. 339.14-15).

24. *Yady api bhagavatā bādarāyaṇena idamarthānyeva sūtrāṇi praṇītāni vivṛtāni ca tāni parimitagaṁbhīra-bhāṣiṇā bhāṣyakṛtā, vistṛtāni ca tāni gaṁbhīranyāyasāgara-bhāṣiṇā śrīvatsāṅkamiśreṇāpi, tathāpi ācārya-Taṅka-Bhartṛprapañca-Bhartṛmitra-Bhartṛhari-Brahmadatta-Saṅkara- Srīvatsāṅka-Bhāskarādi-viracita-sitāsita-vividhanibandhana-śraddhāvipralabdha -buddhayo na yathāvadanyathā ca pratipadyante* / p. 8 of *Siddhitraya* with English translation and notes by R. RAMANUJACHARI and K. SRINIVASACHARIAR.

25. *Pārāśarya-vacaḥ-sudhām upaniṣaddugdhābdhimadhyoddhṛtāṁ saṁsārāgnividīpanavyapagataprāṇātmasañjīvanīṁ / pūrvācārya-surakṣitāṁ bahumativyāghātadūrasthitām ānītāṁ tu nijākṣaraiḥ sumanaso bhaumāḥ pibantv anvaham //.* 2nd Intro. verse to *Śrībhāṣya.*

26. *tathā hi sūtrakāreṇa vedāntanyāyābhidhāyīni sūtrāṇy abhidhāya vedopabṛṁhaṇāya ca bhāratasaṁhitāṁ śatasāhasrikāṁ kurvatā mokṣadharme jñānakāṇḍe-'bhihitaṁ gṛhastho . . . devatāṁ kāṁ yajeta saḥ // ityārabhya mahatā prabandhena pañcarātraśāstraprakriyāṁ pratipādya . . . idaṁ mahopaniṣadaṁ caturveda-samanvitaṁ / pañcarātrānuśabditaṁ . . . iti / bruvāṇo bādarāyaṇo . . . katham evaṁ vedāntavedya-parabrahmabhūtavāsudevopāsanārcanādipratipādanaparasya sātvataśastrasyāprāmāṇyaṁ brūyāt / Śrībhāṣya* on *Br.S.* II.2.42 (BSS).

sūtrakāra first composed the *Vedāntasūtras*, that then, for explaining and supporting the Veda, he composed the *Bhāratasaṁhitā* in one hundred thousand verses, that in the *mokṣadharma* section (of the Śāntiparva) he expounded the Pañcarātra system beginning with chap. 334.1 (= Cr. ed. 321.1), spoke of it as a great Upaniṣad in which Mādhava is to be worshipped by the Sātvata procedure, asks: how would Bādarāyaṇa, having spoken about Pañcarātra system in those words, declare the unauthoritativeness of the *Sātvataśāstra* which is devoted to the worship and *upāsanā* of Vāsudeva ? This shows that he regarded Bādarāyaṇa as the author of the *Brahmasūtra* and of the Mahābhārata containing in its *mokṣadharma* section the promulgation of the Pañcarātra system. This confusion about identifying the authors of the *Brahmasūtra* and the Mahābhārata appears to have started about the 9th century A.D. and has continued since then. One example alone of a much later date will be cited here. Sāyaṇa[27] in his *bhāṣya* on *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* ascribes the *Br.S.* to Bādarāyaṇa. But the *Parāśara-Mādhavīya* in some places ascribes the *Br. S.* to Bādarāyaṇa (vol. I, part 1, pp. 52, 67, vol II, part 2, pp. 3 and 275), but in other places speaks of the *Br.S.* as *Vyāsasūtra* (vol. I, part 1, pp. 56 and 113).

It is difficult to explain how Vedavyāsa came to be identified with Bādarāyaṇa, when Śaṅkarācārya (not later than 800 A.D.) clearly distinguished between the two.

Some further matters would have to be gone into before any conclusions are drawn.

It should be remembered that Jaimini, Bādarāyaṇa and Bādari are *gotra* names, but Vyāsa is not, though Pārāśarya is one of the three *pravaras* of Pārāśaras. The *Āp. Śrautasūtra* 24.8.10 (ed. by GARBE) and *Pravaramañjarī* (ed. by CHENTSALRAO, Mysore, 1900) p. 61 mention Bādarāyaṇa[28] as a subsection of Viṣṇuvṛddha-gotra, while p. 38 of the latter work mentions Jaimini along with Yāska, Vādhūla, Mauna, Mauka and others as having the *pravara* 'Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Sāvetaseti' and pp. 108n and 178 cite Bādari (or Vādari) as a subdivision of Parāśara.

27. *asūtrayat spaṣṭam etad bhagavān bādarāyaṇaḥ /*
vedhādīnām arthabhedād iti sūtre ha cintyate //
Sāmavedārthaprakāśa, Intro. (ed. by Prof. D. M. BHATTACHARYA, Calcutta Sanskrit College, 1958).

28. *atha viṣṇuvṛddhānāṁ tryārṣeyaḥ / āṅgirasapaurukutsatrāsadasyaveti / trasadasyuvatpurukutsavadaṅgirovaditi / eṣa evāvikṛtaḥ śaṭhamarṣaṇa-bhadraṇa-madraṇa-bādarāyaṇa- tuṇḍināṁ / Āp. Ś. sūtra* 24.8.9-10; *atha parāśarāṇāṁ tryārṣeyaḥ / vāsiṣṭhaśāktyapārāśaryeti / parāśaravacchaktivadvasiṣṭhavaditi / Āp. Ś. sūtra* 24.10.6.

Therefore, it was possible that several persons separated by an interval of a century or more could have borne the name Jaimini or Bādarāyaṇa.

We know from Pāṇini that there were mendicant ascetics (*bhikṣus*) who studied the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Pārāśarya or the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Karmanda and were respectively designated *'Pārāśariṇaḥ'* and *'Karmandinaḥ'*.

A *bhikṣu* represents in the Dharmasūtras such as that of Gautama[30] the order of *'saṁnyāsa'*, who was not to collect or store wealth and was to enter a village for alms. The *Br. Up.* (III.5.1 and IV.4.22) emphasizes that those who seek to realize *brahma* give up all desires or longings such as for sons, wealth and the heavenly world and practise begging. No trace is left of the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Karmanda. It is possible to presume that the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Pārāśarya must have treated of *saṁnyāsa*, the time for it, the rules of the order and the goal aimed at by members of the order and might have been in its subject matter somewhat like the *Brahmasūtra* or one of its predecessors. Pāṇini's is probably the earliest reference to a sūtra on the stage of *saṁnyāsa*. Pāṇini's date is not beyond dispute. But no modern scholar would place him later than 300 B.C. The present writer would place him even as early as 600 B.C. Therefore, the *Bhikṣusūtra* of Pārāśarya named by Pāṇini would have to be placed at some time between 700 and 400 B.C. Further light is thrown by Vārtika 1 on Pāṇini IV.1.97 from which it follows that Vyāsa's *'apatya'* was called Vaiyāsaki[31], that is Śuka (according to the Mahābhāṣya). Śuka is spoken of as Bādarāyaṇi in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XII.5.8). The word Bādarāyaṇa is formed from Badara which is one of about 76 words in the *Naḍādi-gaṇa*[32] according to Pāṇini. The son of Badara may be called Bādari and Bādarāyaṇa may be Badara's grandson or a remoter male descendant. As Śuka was known to be the son of Vyāsa in the Mahābhārata and before the *Mahābhāṣya* and as he had come to be called Bādarāyaṇi (which may mean the son of Bādarāyaṇa) at least before the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (the

29. *pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṁ bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ / karmanda-kṛśāśvād iniḥ / Pā.* IV.3.110-111 ; *pārāśaryeṇa proktaṁ bhikṣusūtram adhīyate pārāśariṇo bhikṣavaḥ, karmandena proktaṁ bhikṣusūtram adhīyate karmandino bhikṣavaḥ / Si. Kau.*

30. *brahmacārī gṛhastho bhikṣur vaikhānasaḥ / . . .*
anicayo bhikṣuḥ / bhikṣārthī grāmam iyāt /
Gautamadharmasūtra III.2. 10, 13.

31. *sudhātur akañ ca* / Pā. IV.1.97 ; *sudhātṛvyāsayoḥ / Vārtika* ; *saudhātakiḥ / vaiyāsakiḥ śukaḥ / Mahābhāṣya.*

32. *naḍādibhyaḥ phak / Pā.* IV.1.99 ; *naḍasya gotrāpatyaṁ nāḍāyaṇaḥ* Therefore *badarasya (tannāmaka-puruṣasya) gotrāpatyaṁ bādarāyaṇaḥ* ; *ata iñ-Pā.* IV.1.95 ; *dakṣasya apatyaṁ dākṣiḥ* (Vide *Mahābhāṣya* on IV.1.95); so *badarasya apatyaṁ bādariḥ. Vide* also *Pā.* IV.1.101.

date of which is hotly disputed) it appears likely that people equated Vyāsa and Bādarāyaṇa and gradually came to be indifferent as to whether the *Brahmasūtra* was to be ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa or to Vyāsa.

Both the PMS and *Br.S.* mention, besides Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, a number of individual authors. Both mention Ātreya (PMS IV.3.18, V.2.18, VI.1.26 and *Br. S.* III.4.44), Āśmarathya (PMS VI.5.16 and *Br. S.* I. 2.29, I. 4.20), Kārṣṇājini (PMS IV. 3.17, VI. 7.35 and *Br. S.* III. 1.9), Bādari (PMS III. 1.3, VI. 1.27, VIII. 3.6, IX. 2.33 and *Br. S.* I. 2.30, III. 1.11, IV. 3.7, IV. 4.10). PMS names also Ālekhana (VI. 5.17), Aitiśāyana (III. 2.44, III. 4.24, VI. 1.6), Kāmukāyana (XI. 1.58 and 63) and Lāvukāyana (VI. 7.37) that are not mentioned in *Br. S.* On the other hand, *Br. S.* names Auḍulomi (I. 4.21, III. 4.45, IV. 4.6) and Kāśakṛtsna (I. 4.22) that are absent from PMS. Vyāsa or Pārāśarya is not mentioned in both. The case of Bādari requires careful consideration. The PMS mentions both Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini only five times each, while PMS and *Br. S.* both mention Bādari four times each. In PMS III. 1.3 Bādari differs as to what is denoted by the word '*śeṣa*'; in PMS VI. 1.27 Bādari propounds the remarkable view that even *śūdras* have *adhikāra* for Agnihotra and other Vedic rites, as against Ātreya and the author of the PMS who hold that only the first three *varṇas* have that right; in PMS VIII. 3.6 Bādari differs from Jaimini on a purely ritualistic matter; in PMS IX. 2.33 Bādari's is the *siddhānta* view about certain Vedic verses being sung in a certain way.

In *Br. S.* I. 2.30 Bādari's view on what is meant by the *upāsanā* of Vaiśvānara in *Ch. Up.* V. 18.1-2 and other passages is mentioned and the differing views of Āśmarathya and Jaimini on the same are noticed; in *Br. S.* III. 1.11, Bādari's opinion that the words '*ramaṇīyacaraṇāḥ*' and '*kapūyacaraṇāḥ*' in *Ch. Up.* V. 10.7 refer to good and evil deeds respectively differs slightly from the view of Kārṣṇājini on the same; in *Br. S.* IV. 3.7 Bādari's view on the words '*sa enān brahma gamayati*' (*Ch. Up.* IV. 15.5) is opposed to the view of Jaimini as stated in *Br. S.* IV. 3.12; in *Br. S.* IV. 4.10 Bādari's view that in the case of one that has realized *brahma* there are no senses and body in the stage of *mokṣa* is cited as opposed to Jaimini's view that a released soul can have a body and senses as well.

From the foregoing analysis of Bādari's views on matters within the scope of the PMS and also on matters of the interpretation of Upaniṣad passages, it follows that both the authors of the extant PMS and *Br. S.* had before them a work of Bādari dealing with topics of both systems.

Ālekhana and Āśmarathya are the only two individual authors whose views are frequently quoted in the *Āp. Śr. sūtra.* In fact both are quoted at

least 16 times and in most cases they differ from each other. The differences are in the ritual of sacrifices. Their views relate to matters on some of which the PMS has its own say. For example, as regards the day of the *dīkṣā* for Gavāmayana, the *Āp. Śr. S.* quotes the views of Āśmarathya[33] and Alekhana and the PMS also has an elaborate discussion on the same, but agrees with the view of Āśmarathya. It is likely that Ātreya, Āśmarathya and Kārṣṇājini also wrote works on both systems and Auḍulomi and Kāśakṛtsna on the Vedānta system.

Bearing in mind that Bādari most probably wrote a work on both Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Vedānta and that others also might have done the same as stated immediately above, we must consider an important verse in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, 13.4 which means 'it (the real nature of *kṣetra* and *kṣetrejña*) has been distinctly sung (i.e. propounded) in many ways by sages in the different Vedas and also by the words of the *Brahmasūtra* that are well-reasoned and definite'. Here commentators except Śaṅkarācārya understand by *Brahmasūtra* the work now going by that name and propounding correct doctrines about Brahma. Commentators agree that the word '*gītam*' must be understood in the second half of the verse. The writer of this paper feels that the word '*ṛṣibhiḥ*' also must be understood in the second half. If '*ṛṣibhiḥ*' is required in connection with '*chandobhiḥ*' there is no reason why that word should not be construed with '*brahmasūtrapadaiḥ*' also[34]. Two instrumentals '*ṛṣibhiḥ*' (agents) and '*chandobhiḥ*' (means) are employed in the first half of the verse; if we understand '*ṛṣibhiḥ*' in the second half, we shall have a symmetrical arrangement. No one can deny that Bādarāyaṇa, Bādari, Ātreya are *ṛṣis*. Śabara refers to Ātreya as '*muni*' in PMS (VI. 1.26). If the above reasoning be accepted it would follow that the *Gītā* had before it several *sūtra* works on *brahma* composed by different sages. If the word '*Brahmasūtra*' means only the extant *Brahmasūtra*, an insoluble puzzle arises. The *Gītā* mentions in

33. *gavāmayaneṣu prajāṁ bhūtiṁ bhūmānaṁ gacchanty abhi svargaṁ lokaṁ jayanty eṣu lokeṣu pratitiṣṭhanti / . . . saṁvatsarāya dīkṣiṣyamāṇā ekāṣṭakāyāṁ dīkṣerann ity uktaṁ / caturahe purastāt paurṇamāsyai dīkṣeran / Māghyā ityāśmarathyaḥ / caitryā ityālekhanaḥ /* *Āp. Śr. S.* XXI.15.1 and 4-6. The PMS (IV.5.30-37) upholds the *māghī* in '*paurṇamāsyāmaniyamo 'viśeṣāt / ānantaryāt tu caitrī syāt / māghī vaikāṣṭakāśruteḥ* /' PMS. VI.5.30-32.

34. *ṛṣibhir bahudhā gītam chandobhir vividhaiḥ pṛthak /*
brahmasūtrapadaiścaiva hetumadbhir viniścitaiḥ //
Gītā 13.4

brahmasūtrapadaiścaiva brahmaṇaḥ sūcakāni vākyāni brahmasūtrāṇi taiḥ padyate gamyate jñāyate brahma iti tāni padānyucyante taireva ca kṣetrakṣetrajñayāthâtmyaṁ gītamityanuvartate / *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*; *brahmasūtrapadaiś caiva brahmapratipādanasūtrākhyaiḥ padaiḥ śārīraka-sūtraiḥ /* *Rāmānujabhāṣya.*

that case the extant *Brahmasūtra* but in many *sūtras* of *Br. S. smṛti* passages are relied upon which all commentators hold are meant to be verses from the Gītā[35] i.e. one would have to hold that the *Gītā* names the *Brahmasūtra* and Br. S. knew the *Gītā*. *Śaṅkarācārya* saw the difficulty and therefore construed '*sūtra*' as meaning '*sūcaka*'. But that is a far-fetched explanation and is unacceptable. And other theories would have to be advanced viz. that the author of both is the same or that the Mahābhārata and the *Gītā* received additions from time to time and that when the final redaction of the Mahābhārata (including the *Gītā*) was made the verse (*Gītā* 13.4) was inserted.

We have also to consider the remarks of the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*[36] of Sureśvarācārya (the most famous of the disciples of Śaṅkarācārya) that Jaimini does not mean that all texts of the Veda relate to sacrificial rites and that if he really meant that to be the only proper doctrine, he would not have composed the '*Śārīrakasūtra*' beginning with '*athāto brahmajijñāsā*' and '*janmādyasya yataḥ*' and containing an investigation of the purport of all the Vedānta passages laying bare the nature of Brahma and supporting his words with profound reasoning; but as a matter of fact he did compose such a *Śārīrakasūtra*. This passage means that Jaimini composed a *sūtra* work relating to knowledge of *brahma*, which began with two *sūtras* that are the same as the first two *sūtras* of the extant *Br. S.* Col. JACOB in his Introduction (p. 3) to the first edition of the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* states his view that the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* made 'Jaimini, the author of the *Vedāntadarśana*'. His view is not correct, since all that Sureśvara says amounts to this that Jaimini composed not only a work on the *Karmamīmāṁsā*, but also a *sūtra* work called *Śārīrakasūtra* on the doctrines relating to *brahma*, and that that work of Jaimini began with two *sūtras* that *were* the same as the first two *sūtras* of the

35. On *Br. S.* I.2.6 (*smṛteś ca*) the only passages of *Smṛti* quoted by Śaṅ. are *Gītā* 18.61 and 13.2; on *Br. S.* I.3.23 (*api ca smaryate*) Śaṅ. cites only *Gītā* 15.6 and 12; on *Br. S.* II.3.45 the only *Smṛti* passage quoted by Śaṅ. is *Gītā* 15.7; on *Br. S.* IV.1.10 (*smaranti ca*) only *Gītā* 6.11 is quoted by Śaṅ.; on *Br. S.* IV.2.21 (*yoginaḥ prati ca smaryate smārte caite*) the only passages quoted by Śaṅ. in elucidation are from the *Gītā* (8.23-25). Rāmānuja also quotes only *Gītā* verses on *Br. S.* I.2.6, and I.3.23 (22 in Rāmānuja), II.3.45 (44 in Rāmānuja), IV.1.10, IV.2.21 (20 in Rāmānuja)

36. *yato na jaiminerayam abhiprāyaḥ—āmnāyaḥ sarva eva kriyārtha iti / yadi hy ayam abhiprāyo bhaviṣyad athāto brahmajijñāsā janmādyasya yataḥ—ityevamādi brahmavastu-svarūpamātrayāthātmya-prakāśanaparaṁ gaṁbhīranyāyasandṛbdhaṁ sarvavedāntārtha-mīmāṁsanaṁ śrīmacchārīrakaṁ nāsūtrayiṣyat / asūtrayac-ca / tasmāj jaiminer evāyam abhiprāyo yathaiva vidhivākyānāṁ svārthamātre prāmāṇyamevamaikātmya-vākyānāmapyanadhigatavastu-paricchedasāmyāditi / Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, pp. 54-55 (BSS. ed. 1906).

present *Br. S.* but he does not say that the present *Br. S.*, which his great teacher Śaṅkarācārya held to be Bādarāyaṇa's, was the work of Jaimini. It has been seen above that the present *Br. S.* unmistakably shows by quoting eleven times the views of Jaimini on *brahma* and related matters that it had before it a work of Jaimini on Vedānta. Sureśvara might have had before him a *sūtra* work of Jaimini on Vedānta, which has not yet been recovered.

Dr. BELVALKAR postulates in Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on '*Vedānta Philosophy*' (pp. 141-142) two propositions, viz. (1) that the *Brahmasūtras* were written separately for the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and other Upaniṣads for each Vedic *Śākhā*, and (2) that the *Śarīrakasūtra* of Jaimini was bodily incorporated within and forms the main part of the contents of the present text of the *Brahmasūtra*. The author of this paper strongly protests against both these propositions. The present writer cannot go into these questions at length here but he cannot help remarking that these propositions are based on very little evidence, if any. If the *Sūtra* '*janmādyasya yataḥ*' was a *sūtra* of Jaimini, who is connected with the Sāmaveda according to the traditions embodied in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, why is it that that *sūtra* is based according to all the *bhāṣyakāras* on a passage of the *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad?* The *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads* are each nearly twice as long as all the other eight Upaniṣads (out of the ten principal Upaniṣads) and nearly five or six times longer than the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. It is, therefore, that the two Upaniṣads, *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, figure so largely in the present *Brahmasūtras*. The second proposition of Dr. BELVALKAR is hardly more than a pure guess. No tangible evidence can be brought forward to establish that the main part of the extant *Brahmasūtra* is taken bodily from Jaimini's *Śarīrakasūtra* when the latter has not come down to these times and when no *sūtras* therefrom (other than the two noted above) have been quoted anywhere as Jaimini's *Śarīrakasūtras*.

Then the question of the occurrence of the words '*tad-uktam*'[37] eight times in the *Br. S.* has to be considered. Śaṅ. holds that in *Br. S.* I. 3.21, II. 1.31, III. 3.8 the reference is to the *sūtras* of *Br. S.* itself, that *Br. S.* III.3.26, III.3.33, III.3.50, and III.4.42 (where the words '*tad-uktam*' occur) refer to PMS X. 8.15, III. 3.8, XI. 4.10 and I. 3.8-9 respectively and that *Br. S.* III. 3.43 refers to the *Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa*. The other *bhāṣyakāras* differ from Śaṅkarācārya in several places and among themselves. Vallabhācārya, who had come to regard the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* as

37. Vide a brief note on "The problem of '*taduktam sūtras*'" by Prof. P. M. MODI in IHQ Vol. 13, pp. 514-520.

of equal authority with the Veda and even as superseding the latter, holds that *Br. S.* III. 3.33, III. 3.50 and III. 4.42 refer to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. *Br. S* III.3.44 and 49[38] appear to echo the principles laid down in PMS III. 3.14. When *Br. S.* I. 4.17 employs the words '*tad-vyākhyātam*' Śaṅ. and other *bhāṣyakāras* hold that these words refer to *Br. S.* I. 1.31. One feels that the words '*tad-uktam*' should ordinarily mean the same throughout i.e. they should be taken as referring to the PMS or to *Br. S.* everywhere. But no *ācārya* is prepared to accept entirely one of these alternatives. It is noteworthy that the present PMS rarely employs the words '*tad-uktam*' as in V. 3.9[39] where the reference is to PMS V. 2.19. The PMS. though it mentions Bādarāyaṇa's views five times, does not appear to be much influenced by the *Br. S.* On the other hand, not only are some of the *sūtras* of *Br. S.* containing the words '*tad-uktam*' deemed to be references to the PMS, but *Br. S.* frequently employs words peculiar to the PMS such as '*arthavāda, prakaraṇa, liṅga, vidhi, śeṣa*' and purely PM illustrations such as in III. 3.26 (*kūśā-chandastutyupagānavat*), III. 3.33 (*aupasadavat*), III.4.20 (*dhāraṇavat*), IV.4.12 (*dvādaśāhavat*).

It may be said in a general way that the extant *Br. S.* leads one to presuppose the extant PMS, while there are hardly any signs for holding that PMS was influenced to any noticeable extent by present *Br. S.*

The writer of this paper now wishes to draw together the several threads that have been spun so far about Jaimini, Bādarāyaṇa, Vyāsa, the PMS and the *Br. S.* and tries to present a tentative pattern of conclusions as follows :—

(1) The Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas state that Jaimini was one of the pupils of Pārāśarya Vyāsa. But these statements relate to the transmission of the Sāmaveda to Jaimini by Vyāsa and must be confined to that matter alone, following the maxim '*yāvad-vacanaṁ vācanikam*'. There is a *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, a *Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra* and a *Jaiminīya-gṛhyasūtra*. The tradition in the Mahābhārata may be true so far as it goes and we have no evidence to show that it is wrong. There is no warrant, however, for extending this tradition to non-Vedic works and particularly to the authorship of the PMS and *Br. S.* Late medieval

38. *liṅgabhūyastvāt tad dhi balīyas tad api / Brahmasūtra* III.3.44 ; Compare '*śrutiliṅgavākyaprakaraṇasthānasamākhyānāṁ samavāye pāradaurbalyam artha-viprakarṣāt*' PMS. III. 3.14.

39. *ante vā tad uktam* / PMS. V. 3.9. This refers to PMS. V. 2.19 *ante tu bādarāyaṇas teṣāṁ pradhāna-śabdatvāt.* In PMS IX. 2.2 occur the words '*taduktadoṣam*' which refer to PMS VII. 2.13.

writers like Vallabhācārya[40], whose weakest points were lack of a correct knowledge of history and chronology and the obsession to glorify their favourite authors and works to the skies, extended the above epic tradition to the relationship of the authors of the two *sūtra* works, PMS and *Br. S.* Besides, medieval writers and commentators did not pay sufficient attention to the fact that Jaimini, Bādari and Bādarāyaṇa are *gotra* names and not merely individual names.

(2) From Pāṇini's reference to '*Bhikṣusūtras*' composed by Pārāśarya and Karmanda and Patañjali's reference to the study of the *Mīmāṁsā* of Kāśakṛtsni by women, it follows beyond doubt that *sūtra* works on Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā had been composed several centuries before the Christian era. Kāśakṛtsna is an *ācārya* referred to in *Br. S.* I. 4.22 on a Vedānta point and his view is the *siddhānta* in that *adhikaraṇa* according to Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. It is possible that the Mīmāṁsā of Kāśakṛtsna mentioned by Patañjali dealt with both Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Vedānta. It has been argued above that good grounds exist for holding that Bādari, Ātreya, Āśmarathya and Kārṣṇājini wrote works on both systems.

(3) From the examination of the views of Jaimini mentioned in *Br. S.* it appears that a Jaimini wrote on Vedānta also. This is further corroborated by the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* quoted above. There is no evidence to show that this Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa or of Pārāśarya. On the contrary, the words '*jaiminer api*' in *Br. S.* III. 4.40 convey great solicitude on the part of the author of the *Br. S.* for Jaimini's support. The author of the extant *Br. S.* shows special respect for Jaimini's views, since he quotes Jaimini more times than any other *ācārya* and more times than even Bādarāyaṇa. Therefore, it appears to be necessary to hold that there were two Jaiminis, one dealing with both Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Vedānta matters and the other the reputed author of the present PMS, who is different from the Jaimini mentioned by him five times.

(4) The author of the present PMS refers to *Bādarāyaṇa's* views five times, four of which are concerned with purely sacrificial matters and the extant *Br. S.* mentions Bādarayaṇa's views nine times in connection with

40. On '*tat tu samanvayāt*' (*Br. S.* I. 1.4) Vallabhācārya remarks '*tathāhi jaiminirdharmajijñāsām eva pratijñāya tatpratipādakasya pūrvakāṇḍasya samanvayam āha / avāntaravākyānāṁ prakāraśeṣatvāt / na ca sarvasmin vede dharma eva jijñāsyas tadguruṇaiva vyāsena brahmajijñāsāyāḥ pratijñātatvāt /*' The *Bhāṣyaprakāśa* on *Aṇubhāṣya* says: *teṣāṁ (mantrārthavādādīnāṁ) avāntara-vākyānāṁ dharmaprakārabhūta-dravya-devatākarmastutyādiprakāśakatvena dharmaśeṣatvāt /*

Vedānta matters. In the present state of our knowledge a Bādarāyaṇa appears to have composed a work dealing with both Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Vedānta topics. That composite work has not yet been discovered and may not be discovered at all, since an eminent work on a subject tended to put earlier and less able works into oblivion. This Bādarāyaṇa must be held to be different from the author of the present *Br. S.* for reasons already assigned above.

(5) The author of the present *Br. S.* was a Bādarāyaṇa as shown by Śaṅkara and other early writers and commentators. But from about the 9th century A.D. Bādarāyaṇa the author of the present *Br. S.* came to be confounded with Pārāśarya Vyāsa or Veda Vyāsa.

(6) So far as the present PMS and *Br. S.* are concerned there are only two Jaiminis and two Bādarāyaṇas as authors.

HOUSES AND HABITATIONS THROUGH THE AGES

By

H. D. SANKALIA

For a long time stretching over 2,50,000 years, man lived in the open, along banks of rivers and lakes. Outside India, in Europe for instance, were periods when the cold was intense, there being ice all round, and man had to resort to caves and take shelter under overhanging rocks. In England, France, Italy, Germany and Czechoslovakia have been found caves, which bear undoubted evidence of man's habitation. So far no caves of such an early period have been discovered in India. There are however regions, like the limestone caves in the Kurnool District in the State of Andhra, Mirzapur, Banda District in the U.P. and the sandstone formations in Central India where really prehistoric cave habitations are likely to be found. Even the cave men might have constructed tent-like structures, "tectiforms", some 20,000 years ago, as the late Prof. Gordon CHILDE pointed out in a review of Russian archaeologists' work in the Ukraine and Siberia[1].

Now from almost all parts of India (Map I), for instance the rivers Indus, Sohan, Banganga in the Punjab[2], the Banas, Baraiach, Gambhiri in Rajputana[3], the Chambal and the Narmada and their tributaries in Malwa[4] and Central India[5], the Sabarmati, Orsang and others in Northern

1. "Cave Men's Buildings", *Antiquity*, XXIV (1950), pp. 4-11. See also "Coal in the Ice Age . . . a Palaeolithic Settlement . . . in Siberia" by KLIMA, Bohuslav in *Antiquity*, Vol. XXX (1956), p. 98.

2. LAL, B. B., "Palaeoliths from the Beas and Banganga Valleys, Punjab", *Ancient India*, No. 12, pp. 98-113.

3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, p. 58 ; 1955-56, p. 68 ; 1956-57, p. 6 ; 1957-58, p. 45 ; and KHATRI, A. P., "Stone Age Tools of the Gambhiri Basin", *JBU.*, XXVI (1958), pp. 35-49.

4. KHATRI, A. P., *Stone Age Cultures of Malwa* (Ph.D. thesis, Poona University 1958), and SANKALIA, H. D., and KHATRI, A. P., "*Stone Age Cultures of Malwa*", *Journal, PSI.* (Wadia Number), pp. 183-89.

5. De TERRA, H., and PATERSON, T. T., *Studies in the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, (1939).

and Central Gujarat[6], the Godavari, Pravara[7], Mula Mutha[8], Chandrabhaga in the Deccan[9], the Ghataprabha, Malaprabha and Tungabhadra in Karnatak[10], the Krishna and its tributaries in Andhra[11], the Palar or Kortalayar in Madras[12], the Burhabalang and the Brahmani in Orissa[13], and the Singrauli in U.P.[14] hundreds of stone tools have been found. These indicate the one time habitat of man along the banks of these rivers.

These men hunted wild ox, wild horse, elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and other animals[15] and eked out a living. Of course, these men could not have solely subsisted on animal food. With their stone tools men must have dug out roots of trees and tubers, and enjoyed whatever fruits were eatable. From evidence in a cave from China[16], S. Africa, Syria, Palestine and Jersey it also seems that this Early Man knew the uses of fire, that is, he cooked his food. Very recent work in East Africa shows that man at this period not only made huge implements of stone but also utilized ivory, the teeth of hippopotami[17].

Throughout this long period, neither the nature of the tools nor the climate, nor, say, the environment of man remained the same. The tools became finer, and more shapely. Then between 50,000 and 10,000 years ago, they became smaller and more varied, because (obviously) another man had come upon the scene. This new comer must have used a bow

6. SANKALIA, H. D. *Investigations into the Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat*, Baroda, (1946).

7. SANKALIA, H. D., "Animal Fossils and Palaeolithic Industries from the Pravara Basin at Nevasa", *Ancient India*, No. 12, pp. 35-53, and SANKALIA, H. D., *The Godavari Palaeolithic Industry* (1952).

8. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1956-57, p. 78.

9. *Ibid.*

10. JOSHI, R. V., *Pleistocene Study of the Malaprabha Basin*, Poona-Dharwad, 1955.

11. SOUNDARA RAJAN, K. V., "Stone Age Industries near Giddalur, District Kurnool", *Ancient India*, No. 8, p. 64.

12. KRISHNASWAMI, V. D., "Stone Age India", *op. cit.*, No. 3, pp. 33.

13. BOSE, N. K., and SEN, D., *Excavations in Mayurbhanj*, Calcutta, 1948, and *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, p. 40.

14. KRISHNASWAMI, V. D., and SOUNDARA RAJAN, K. V., "The Lithic Stone Industries of the Singrauli Basin, District Mirzapur", *Ancient India*, No. 7, pp. 40-65.

15. De TERRA and PATERSON, *op. cit.*

16. OAKLEY, Kenneth, "The Earliest Fire Makers", *Antiquity*, Vol. XXX (1956), pp. 102-107.

17. LEAKEY, L. S. B., *Illustrated London News*, July 5, (1958), p. 41.

and arrow, and hafted tools[18]. But so far we have no evidence about his habitation or his other ways of life, except the fact that his work-shops or factory sites are found a little away from the river where reins of chert and jasper are easily found. These are usually at the foothills. It is therefore presumed that these must have remained the same as before, since the tools are found on open river banks. (See Map I)

In the next stage, known as Mesolithic because it lies between the Old Stone Age and the New Stone Age, man was still a hunter. Though he did frequent the river valleys as before, in some parts of India, particularly in Central and Northern Gujarat, he preferred to stay on small sandy hillocks, which enclosed a small, natural pond. These habitations were more permanent than before. For, here are found thick heaps of his kitchen refuse in the shape of broken and cut animal bones, and burials of man himself, neatly laid in an extremely flexed posture[19]. It is possible that these habitations had a temporary covering. But, so far no traces have been noticed, not even the outline of wooden or bamboo poles which might have enclosed these habitations. Though, from a reading of the evidence from Siberia, as pointed out by CHILDE, some sort of tent-like structures must have existed and may be found in more extensive excavations.

Though, practically throughout India, small, tiny implements, called microliths, indicating such a cultural stage, have been found, nowhere except at Langhunj in N. Gujarat, mentioned above, have any excavations been carried out and so it is impossible to say about the nature of habitations of these people.

When and how the next cultural stage, technically called the Neolithic or New Stone Age, was reached in India, is not yet known. But this much is a fact. Owing to the vastness of the country and its varied geographical conditions[20], some regions like Sind and the Punjab, received the impact of the higher culture much earlier than others. Thus, when copper or bronze was in general use and people lived in well built houses at Mohenjodaro and Harappa or Lothal[21] in Saurashtra, the inhabitants of Brahmagiri and Bellary[22] in present Mysore had probably begun to eke

18. SANKALIA, H. D., *Ancient India*, No. 12 and BANERJI, K. D., *Middle Palaeolithic Industries of the Deccan*, Ph.D. thesis, Poona University, 1957.

19. SANKALIA, H. D., and KARVE, I., "Primitive Cultures and Peoples of Gujarat", *American Anthropologist*, L.I., No. 1, 1949.

20. SUBBARAO, B., *The Personality of India*, Baroda, 1958.

21. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, p. and earlier numbers.

22. SUBBARAO, B., *Stone Age Cultures of Bellary*, Poona, 1948.

out their living by ground and polished fine grained stone tools. They lived under the age-old rocks overlooking green fields. These they cultivated with their stone hoes, and felled trees with axes, and dressed the timber with stone chisels and adzes. Whether these rockshelters, which abound in the old crystalline formation of the present Bellary, Chitaldurg, Kurnool, and Cuddappa Districts of the State of Mysore and Andhra, were in any way further protected from the wind and rain is not known. In some way, the open exposed sides of the rock must have been covered. Here again, for want of extensive work, practically nothing is known about the habitations.

Similar rock shelters are also found in the sandstone formations in Northern Karnatak, around Badami[23], and in the Banda[24] and Mirzapur Districts, U.P. and in the sandstone formations in M.P. All these need, however, a very careful study[25].

Further development also seems to be very uneven, owing to the same reasons mentioned above. How the people in the Indus valley came to live in well laid out cities and houses of burnt bricks is not yet known. Recent work at Kot Diji[26] in the Bhalwalpur State of W. Pakistan suggests that the houses, in an earlier period before the rise of Indus cities, were built with mud bricks. Their plan, the size and number of rooms are not yet known, because the excavations were limited in nature.

However, about 2,500 B.C., Harappa and Rupar in the Punjab, and Mohenjodaro, Chanhudaro, and a number of places in Sind, and a little later in N. Saurashtra had developed regular cities. Of these the largest and hitherto the most well known are Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The former "appears to have had a circuit of not less than three miles" over the former banks of the Ravi. The latter, on a branch of the Indus, seems to have been a rectangular city 800 ft. wide east to west and 1,200 ft. north to south, the whole divided roughly into blocks of equal size. Since Harappa is very much spoiled by brick robbers, not much evidence of the layout of the city remains. But its other remains, particularly the granary and traces of fortifications, supplement those from Mohenjodaro. This gives a fairly good picture of an Indus city, some 4,000 years ago. These are our first cities. And even though the idea may have been borrowed from the earlier and in some ways more advanced civilizations of Western

23. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, p. 5.

24. *Ibid.*

25. For their paintings and age see GORDON, D. H., *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture* (1958), pp. 98-117.

26. KHAN, *Illustarated London News*, May 24, 1958, p. 866.

Asia, still the ultimate product is typically Indian. Like the much later Greek cities, the entire city of Mohenjodaro was laid out in a chess-board-like fashion with N.S. and E.W. running roads, and several small lanes, each cutting at right angles the principal thoroughfares. Unlike the contemporary cities of Sumer, the houses of the rich and the poor—one and all—were built of *pucca*, burnt bricks. Each house had at least three rooms, including a central square and a bath room. Between two or more houses there was a well. Each of these houses was provided with an earthen pipe and refuse jars and these were connected with a covered drain on either side of the road. Thus these 4000-year-old houses were not hovels as were many houses in W. Asia at this date, or as they are today in many large cities in India and outside. The houses, though perhaps bereft of any architectural or surface decoration and hence drab, "esthetically miles of monotony", were hygienic and provided with "the modern" sanitary conveniences. The city had a large public bath and granaries. Thus in every way it compared well with the city of today, or with a Greek or Roman city of 2,000 years ago. Likewise it appears from very recent excavations that citadel or acropolis—a part of the city where the king or the prince and the aristocracy lived—was protected with a mud brick rampart, having watch towers. (For details see below.)

While an advanced city civilization flourished in the Indus Valley and in the Punjab and Saurashtra, the rest of India, it appears, was still passing through different stages of a Stone Age Culture. In fact, nothing was known about it until 1947. Recent work[27], in the Ganga-Jamuna Valley at Hastinapur and Kausambi, at Patna and Vaisali in Bihar, at Nagda, Ujjain and Maheswar in Central India, at Ahar in E. Rajputana, at Prakash and Bahal in Khandesh, at Somnath in Saurashtra and at Nasik and Nevasa in the N. Deccan, and at Piklihal and Brahmagiri in Mysore-Karnatak, has revealed the existence of a people or peoples who, slightly later than the Indus Valley civilization, by 1500 B.C.[28], lived in a Copper-Stone Age Culture. Thus, barring Kerala, Tamilnad, coastal Andhra, Orissa and Assam[29], we may say that the whole of India was witnessing the dawn of civilization. The regions, just mentioned, were away and

27. See *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1953-58.

28. The earliest is 3503 128 = 1503 $\pm$ 128 B.C. This is based on the Carbon-14 dates for the Chalcolithic layers at Navdatoli kindly supplied by the Physics Department of the University of Pennsylvania in September 1958. However, this date relates to the third phase, the earliest may well go back to 2000 B.C.

29. So far no remains of this culture have been found in Bihar but there are indications that it will be found. Hence Bihar is not mentioned in this list.

isolated from the main centres of communication. Hence, it was much later that they received the touch of higher way of life.

However, save Nevasa (to a small extent) and Maheshwar-Navdatoli, everywhere the excavations have been on a very small scale. So it is not possible to know the plans of houses at this period, except at Navdatoli. First, something about the method of construction. Burnt bricks were probably known. This is indeed surprising in view of the fact that this was the most common material throughout the Punjab, Sind and even in some parts of Saurashtra in an earlier period. Nothing perhaps indicates better the change in tradition and the cultural milieu than this sudden and radical change in the building material. Whoever the new comers or the Chalcolithic inhabitants were, they did not make and know the use of kiln-made bricks, (though they made excellent pottery and even used the brick-like burnt debris as a floor).

Mud-bricks have been used at Nagda. But the most common method was to plaster the interwoven bamboo screen resting against a close set wooden or bamboo wall with clay in which some husk and cowdung etc. might be mixed. This was then white-washed with lime.[30] The floorings, made with a bedding of gravel or black and brown soil were stamped, smoothed and made insect-proof by a thin layer of lime[31], or in the earliest period with cowdung and yellow clay. Thus, the rooms, round, square or rectangular and varying between 15 and 12 feet, looked spick and span as in a modern hospital. How these mud and timber houses were roofed is not definitely known. Since no tiles in any form have been found, and since similar huts today have a thick grass and reed roof, sometimes strengthened by layers of clay laid over a few criss-cross beams, it is possible that such huts at Navdatoli were similarly roofed in pre-historic times.

Every house at Navdatoli had a three-"mouthed" hearth or *chul*[32], made

30. *See Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, p. 30, SANKALIA, H. D., "New Light on the Aryan Invasion of India : Links with Iran of 1,000 B.C. discovered in Central India", *Illustrated London News*, September 20, 1958, p. 478 and SANKALIA, H. D., SUBBARAO, B. and DEO, S. B., *Excavations at Maheshwar* and *Navdatoli*, Poona and Baroda, 1958.

31. The practice of plastering the clay floors with lime goes back to the houses in the hitherto known *first* city in the world, namely the Pre-pottery Neolithic Jericho, now proved to be at least 8,000 years old. See KENYON, Kathleen M., *Digging up Jericho* (London 1957), p. 55.

32. Exactly identical hearth has been found in Period I of the Chalcolithic Culture at Ahar in S. Rajputana.

of clay and plastered with lime. The store room was lined with small and big earthern jars, the bigger ones resting on large, square, solid, decorated or round stands. Further excavations will probably reveal the plan of the entire habitation.

Sometime about the 7th-8th century the art of brick-making was re-discovered. These were mostly unbaked, but the very recent Kausambi evidence suggests that even baked bricks were made (and used in the revetment). Iron first probably came into use at this time. Who introduced it is not yet known. But certainly it was due to new cultural impacts. It was the introduction of iron that led to the formation of the earliest large empires—the Sixteen Janapadas, Magadha leading and dominating all because of the exploitation of its rich iron deposits.

This led to the rise of new cities, now once again built with bricks, but of a much bigger size than in the Indus Civilization. Excavations at Taxila, Rupar, Hastinapur, Kausambi, Ahichchhatra and at Vaisali, Pataliputra, Rajagriha, even down in Bengal and then at Ujjayani and Maheshwar in Central India have brought to light remains of early cities. Of these some idea may be had of the plan of houses from Kausambi and that of a city from Taxila, elsewhere the excavations being too small to reveal any plan.

Kausambi, on the Jamuna, 32 miles south-west of Allahabad, when fully excavated[33] will not only rival Taxila in supplying us the picture of a city whose beginnings go back to the 8th century B.C., but with its moat and encircling protection wall over 3½ miles in length and provided with bastions and watch towers, will give idea of a city (-state) in the Gangetic Valley from the 6th century B.C. to 2nd century B.C. So far only a large monastery and a part of the city are exposed. These indicate the kind of civic life people had at this period. In the earliest phase (c. 700 B.C.) as well as in the first five phases of Period II, which is associated with the NBP, the houses had mud-walls. Around 400 B.C. appear the first brick structures, and the first road with bylanes. The houses were built on either side of the road on the *Catuḥśālā* principle. The rooms grouped around a courtyard were also provided with verandahs. Some of the houses had two sections. It is conjectured that the section adjoining the road formed the male apartment, that on the rear being reserved for the women-folk.

33. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1953-54 (1954), p. 9, 1954-55 (1955), p. 16; 1955-56 (1956), p. 20; 1956-57 (1957), p. 28; 1957-58 (1958), p. 47 and G. R. SHARMA, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1948-53 (1958), pp. xxxix-xl.

If any site has yielded some idea of town planning in ancient India, it is Taxila. For at least 4 to 10 cities were built here between the 5th-4th century B.C. and 6th century A.D., until it was finally destroyed by the Huns and never re-built. But, above all, it is the one site which has been extensively excavated, over a period of 20 years. Hence it is that even a glimpse of the city before the arrival of the Indo-Greeks in the 2nd century B.C. and subsequent to it, can be had from Sir John MARSHALL's excavations. Of the first city, he[34] says that the lay-out was irregular and hapzard, in contrast to the symmetrical chess-board-like plan of the 2nd city. One of the most important streets, which approximately ran north and south, was fairly straight, with an average width of 22 feet. Other streets were, however, narrow, their width varying from 9 ft. to 17 ft. and following winding courses. The lanes were narrower still, so narrow, that two persons would find it difficult to walk abreast. Here and there, for the convenience of traffic and other purposes, small open squares were provided. Further, to protect the corners of houses from damage by passing carts and chariots, wheel-guards were set up by erecting rough stone pillars at the corners of buildings.

The houses[35] were also irregular in plan, the principle underlying their design was of an open court with rooms on one or more sides. There were two such courts in well-to-do houses, and they had probably more than one storey. On the ground floor, the rooms, about 15-20 in number, were small, because they were probably occupied by servants, whereas rooms facing the streets probably served as shops. The courts were usually paved either with rough flags or river pebbles or their floors consisted simply of beaten earth.

There were no regular windows, but rooms on the ground floor opening on to a court or street took the form of narrow-slits. How these houses looked when standing can only be imagined. Probably, as in the North-West today, their walls were mud-plastered and white-washed with lime and provided with wooden balconies and flat roofs. That the roofs were flat is evident from the complete absence of tiles of any kind.

Since no wells have been found within the city, it is presumed that water was fetched from the Tamrā nālā outside the city, or from wells in the low lying suburbs. However, each house had at least one soak-well for sewage purposes, while drains were provided to carry off the surface water. Though this does not seem to be a universal feature, it is uncertain whether there was a systematic drainage for the city.

34. MARSHALL, John, *Taxila* (1951) Vol. I, p. 89.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

In the 2nd century B.C. the Indo- or Bactrian-Greeks laid the foundations of a new Taxila.[36] It was at a site, now called Sirkap, across the Tamrā nālā. And for three centuries it remained in occupation during the rule of the Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Kushans.

"The site selected by the Bactrian Greeks for their new city embraced part of the extreme western end of the Hathial spur together with a small sharply defined plateau on its northern side, the whole bounded by the Tamrā nālā on its western side and by the smaller Gau nālā on the north and partly on the east. Thus, from every point of view it was just such a site as might be expected to appeal to a Hellenistic town-planner, who required, first and foremost, a considerable space of level-ground, if he was to design an effective lay-out of streets and buildings on the schematic chess-board pattern which was then in fashion ; in the second place, a backing of low defensive hills, some part of which could be brought within the city's perimeter ; and in the third place, the presence of one or more streams alongside the walls to ensure a steady supply of water and at the same time increase the strength of the defences".[37]

It is also conjectured by CUNNINGHAM as well as MARSHALL that as in Greek cities there was once an acropolis. MARSHALL was not able to carry out an extended excavation of the earlier Greek city, so that we cannot have a detailed picture of this city. What was laid bare were the plans of the late Saka-Parthian City. Of this he gives a vivid generalized picture.

36. Similar thing happened at Charsada or ancient Pushkalavati, near Peshawar, where the recent work by Sir Mortimer WHEELER—a fine aerial photograph—has brought to light a well laid out city of the first centuries B.C.—A.D. See *Illustrated London News*, February 7, 1959, pp. 232-34.

37. MARSHALL, op. cit., p. 113. "The practice of dividing cities into rectangular blocks by streets crossing each other at right angles was first introduced into the western world in the fifth century B.C. by Hippodamus of Miletus, who planned the Peiraeus at Athens and the cities of Thurii and Rhodes. Following in his footsteps Dinocrates laid out Alexandria on still more ambitious lines. A notable example of this type of town-planning is the excavated city of Priene. Cf. M. SCHEDE, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, Abb. 10, 11, 13 and ROSTOVTZEFF, *A History of the Ancient World*, Pl. LXXXV, No. I, where there is a graphic picture of the lay-out, after A. ZIPPELIUS. For an illustration of Selinous in Sicily, also laid out on the same principle, cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *v.* p. 781, and fig. 7,426. It is probable that Śākala (mod. Sialkot), the capital of Menander was also laid out on the Greek chess-board pattern. Cf. *Milindapañha* I, I (*S.B.E.*, XXXV, p. 2 and 1, 34 and 330 sqq., where the cities described were in all likelihood Yavana, not Indian, as assumed by COOMARASWAMY, *Eastern Art*, II (1930), p. 209."

". . . we start by taking a general view of the buildings as they appeared in the first century A.D. and getting a proper understanding of their character. Let us imagine, therefore, that we have just entered the city by the North Gate and are looking down the long straight Main Street from the point whence the photo in Pl. 22a was taken. The date is A.D. 40 or thereabouts, that is, about the time when Apollonius of Tyana is said to have visited Taxila, and when Gondophares, the Parthian, was ruling there. A decade has gone by since the great earthquake, and in the interval the city has been rebuilt, and its buildings are still looking new and more than usually spick and span. Most of them are whitewashed, but not a few are colour-washed, or partly colour-washed in yellows, blues, reds and greens, as buildings may still be seen in many a modern city of the Near and Middle East. Down either side of the Main Street runs a row of shops. They are small, single-storey structures of one or two rooms, raised on a high plinth above the roadway and often with a shallow veranda or open platform in front. The rows of these shops are not continuous. At short intervals, their shadows are broken by streaks of sunlight from the narrow side-streets which cut from east to west in parallel lines across the city; and here and there, too, between the shops can be seen sacred temples and shrines overlooking the main thoroughfare; for the people of Taxila are a devout people, and the monuments of their faiths are as conspicuous a feature inside the city walls as they are in the country roundabout. One of these sacred memorials is on our immediate left. It is a stupa of the Jains (?) standing in the middle of a spacious court between Second and Third Streets, but all we see of the stupa is its dome and crowning spire of umbrellas rising above the surrounding wall. Then a couple of blocks farther on, but not more than 80 yards away, is an imposing temple of the Buddhists—the biggest of its kind at Taxila—set well back from the road in another great court; and in front of it the spires of two more stupas, which stand in the same court to right and left of its entrance. Opposite to this temple at the corner of Block C is still another stupa, while three others are visible rising above the shops farther up the street, two on the left in Blocks F and G and one on the right in Block E, their graceful domes and spires making a pleasing contrast with the flat roofs around them. Beyond them, in the distance, the royal palace stands out, white and gleaming, against the rugged hills to the south.

"At the back of the shops and shrines, and reached usually through entrances in the narrow side-streets, are the private dwelling-houses of the citizens. A few right under the city walls are poor, mean

habitations, occupied probably by the soldiers who guarded the ramparts, but most of them are large houses belonging to the rich; for this is the fashionable quarter of the city. The royal palace itself is only 500 yards up the street and the people who live between it and the North Gate are of the governing classes, with attendants and slaves for whom accommodation is needed in their houses; people who can afford to wear costly jewellery on their persons and to use diverse articles of luxury imported from the western world. Their houses are flat-roofed and low, like bungalows; for since the great earthquake the old tall houses of Taxila have, for safety's sake, been cut down to two storeys. They cover, however, a big area of ground —on an average, some 15,000 sq. ft. and contain a score or more of rooms on each floor. When we enter them we shall find that the rooms are grouped, as is usual in the east, about several open courts from which they derive their light and air, but the courts are sometimes no bigger than the rooms themselves and sometimes they take the form of mere wells or of passages between the rooms. Windows are provided in the outer walls of rooms overlooking the street but they are no more than narrow slits like those in the outer walls of monasteries.

"Higher up the Main Street, as one gets near to the royal palace, the houses are rather more carefully planned and furnished with larger courts. Some of these, one may suppose, served as public offices, and in the interests of administrative convenience they would naturally be located in the vicinity of the palace. The palace itself (Block K) is like a glorified private house—planned, that is, on the same lines but on a bigger scale, and with more spacious courts and rooms. Its walls, too, are more massive and higher in proportion to their massiveness, so that one can see the palace from any part of the city rising well above the surrounding roofs."[38]

With regard to sanitation and drainage, there were covered drains down some, if not down all, of the side streets and small drains connecting with them from the adjacent houses, "but there is no evidence of any drains either open or underground, having existed at any time in the Main street, though there was a drainage culvert underneath the North Gate".[39] Hence, it is inferred that the house and side-streets were designed not for sewage, as at Mohenjodaro, but for surface water only. "What means were adopted for the disposal of sewage is not apparent.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

39. *Ibid.*

The old fashioned soak-well or refuse shaft had virtually ceased to be used after the transfer of the city from Bhir Mound to Sirkap; and so, too, had the larger kind of public refuse lines."[40] It is also to be noted that both, houses and street drains, were commonly constructed of limestone blocks, sometimes plastered on the inside. They were rarely of brick, or slate.

In the east there were also a few cities and ports, though compared to the north of India, this region was colonised much later and consequently its development is believed to be late.

However, in the 2nd century B.C., Orissa was ruled by a powerful king, Khāravela, who soon became emperor of the east. No traces of his capital have hitherto been found, but near Dhauli and Khandagiri and close to Bhuvaneshwar, at Sisupalgarh have been unearthed the remains of a fortified town. Its beginnings are placed in the 3rd century B.C. In about the 2nd century B.C. a clay rampart was erected. Later laterite gravel was added to it. These were further strengthened by baked brick rivetments, and provided with gates.

On the west coast in the Peninsular India, only one site is partially excavated. This is Kolhapur. Here on the banks of the Panchaganga river were brought to light the remains of several brick houses—forming, as the explorations in and around Kolhapur demonstrate, a part of an extensive similarly built city.[41] It seems to have risen up in about the 1st-2nd century B.C. By the early 2nd century A.D. when King Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi ruled in the Deccan, the city, or at least a part of it could boast of fine baked brick houses. These were built on well-laid mud-mortared pebble foundation. One of the fully cleared houses had three small rooms bounded by a long verandah-like room.[42] (Similar plan of houses has also been noticed at Nagarjunikonda.) In one house was found a kitchen, with two *chuls* (hearths) at one end, and built-in storage jar on the other. The area between these was paved with bricks and plastered with cow-dung and clay. These houses were roofed with grooved terra-cotta tiles which were fixed on to the rafters with iron-nails. There were no traces of a soakpit or well anywhere, though it is likely that some idea of sanitary arrangements may be had from future extensive excavations.

40. *Ibid.*

41. SANKALIA, H. D. and DIKSHIT, M. G., *Excavations at Kolhapur* (1945-46), Poona, 1952.

42. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, p. 8.

One thing was, however, remarkable that between two houses, as at Sisupalgarh in the east, a regular or irregular passage of about 2 ft. was left.

Foundation of houses

This subject has already been dealt with by me.[42] Since then, some further information is available, which has been added, and the whole republished here. The one point which emerged from the earlier discussion was that the builders were guided by two things. First, the availability of the raw material, and secondly, the adaptability to the environmental conditions—climatic, geographical, etc. of each case.

This has been well demonstrated by MARSHALL[43] in the case of the Saka-Parthian city of Sirkap at Taxila. The foundations of large structures were taken down much deeper—to the virgin soil or rock—upto a depth of 18 to 20 ft. as the houses of earlier period which were erected on shallow foundations, of a foot or two in depth, or on the debris of existing ruins, had collapsed owing to earthquake, probably about A.D. 20 or 30. Other precautions were also taken to strengthen the walls, by the use of 'diaper' in the place of rubble masonry.[44]

In the sandy plains of Sind, where stone was not easily procurable, at Mohenjodaro for instance, bricks were usually laid in mud and occasionally in gypsum mortar, with foundations and infillings of sun-dried bricks.

In the adjoining regions of Rajputana, at Sambhar in the former Jaipur State, in a site probably of the early Christian era, low foundation-walls were built of roughly cut blocks of Jhajhra stone, and over these were raised the brick walls. The floors enclosed by them were filled up with thick layers of fine sand. At another site, Rairh, in the same region, a thick layer of iron refuse was laid under the foundations to keep off the white ants etc. This is a very wise precaution in sandy areas, where this pest can cause incalculable damage in no time.

Where stone could be had easily, it was turned into proper use. The foundation or lower parts of the wall made of irregular blocks of slate or other large blocks of roughly dressed stones, and the upper parts were often built of mud, in Taxila for example, right from the Mauryan period.

So also at Besnagar, ancient Vidisa in Central India, the foundation of the famous pillar of Heliodorus was very securely prepared. It extended

43. SANKALIA, H. D. and DIKSHIT, M. G., *op. cit.*

44. MARSHALL, *Taxila*, I, p. 138.

to a depth of nearly 6 ft. beneath the base of the shaft and consisted of heavy slabs of stone and layers of laterite, *murrum*, black earth and concrete well rammed. The pillar itself rested directly on the uppermost of the slabs, wedges of metal and stone chips being driven in between the two to maintain it in the perpendicular position.

At Sanchi, which is close by, the Asokan column was found to rest directly on the bed rock, and was maintained in position by a packing of boulders enclosed in retaining walls.

The foundation walls of the Vihāra, which was excavated in 1935-36, were constructed of hammer-dressed blocks of stone laid in clay and sometimes in clay mixed with pounded bricks.

In the Gangetic plains, where stone was scarce, thick brick-walls of the Mauryan town at Bhita are seen to rest on an earthen rampart. At Sarnath the Dhameka Stupa, the upper part of which was of stone, and the lower of bricks, was raised on a foundation of bricks embedded in clay. The stones were laid dry, but were held together in each layer by means of iron clamps.

How they solved the problems still further east, in the sandy alluvium of Bihar, studded with ponds and lakes, is beautifully illustrated by the several types of buildings—monasteries and chaityas—unearthed at Nâlandā. Foundations of some buildings have been found at a depth of over 12 ft. from their ground level. These were then filled up with alternate layers of sand and bricks.

Unusual precaution was taken in the construction of Chaitya site No. 13. "The area comprising the mainshrine seems to have been excavated to a depth of 12 ft. below the then ground level for the purpose of laying the foundation of the Chaitya which rests on a 5 ft. thick layer of sand. The foundation consists of 23 courses of bricks in sand, and 83 courses of bricks in mud mortar up to the floor level of the shrine which was approximately 18 ft. above ground level. On this basement were raised the walls of the shrine chamber which were in double section and were 33 ft. in breadth. In order to strengthen the basement and to enable it to resist the outward thrust of the huge mass of masonry over it, the *pradakṣiṇāmārga* 25 ft. wide was excavated down to the virgin soil and cross walls were built in it at intervals of 24 ft. For the basement with the outer walls of the *pradakṣiṇāmārga* three compartments thus made being filled in with alternate layers of pure earth and concrete mixed with earth.